FAUNA IN ARCHAIC GREEK AND KALANGA ORAL WISDOM LITERATURES

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Abstract

Animals play an important role in the communication of wisdom. In songs, proverbs, aphorisms, riddles and other oral modes of communication, animals sometimes play the roles of human beings. Homeric similes, Hesiodic and Aesopic fables, and numerous oral figures of speech in Greek lyric poetry often incorporate animals in their figurative language. Likewise, Kalanga folktales, proverbs, and other didactic modes attest to the importance of animals within this culture as vehicles to teach moral lessons. This tendency is visible among many cultures across the world. As such, the broad concerns of this thesis are to compare the way Archaic Greek and Kalanga wisdom literatures resort to animal imagery in the dissemination of moral lessons. The study evaluates the way animals are deployed as metaphors to signify and express human actions and human attitudes in oral thought. In a narrow sense, I study the deployment of animals insofar as they shed light upon the human attributes of cleverness and stupidity; the use of animals' characters in political commentary; as well as in the economic and erotic didactics in Archaic Greek and Kalanga oral wisdom literatures. Judging from the frequency of their appearance, it seems that animals are one of the preferred ways through which people offer insights into themselves. Commenting on the human habit of integrating animals into one's religious and moral views, Peter Lum says 'The animal world seems to the mind of primitive man to be only a very short step from the human.'[1] This dissertation seeks to arrive at answers to a number of questions through a comparative study of selections from the two traditions. What are the premises and presuppositions behind the deployment of each animal in such literature? What are the bases for building a human character on an animal? How do we compare and contrast the human and animal natures? And, what makes an animal assume a specific role, and not another, in folklore? What ecological and ethical concerns can be observed in this type of literature? Most importantly, what similarities are there between Greek and Kalanga oral modes of expression? By revealing similarities in animal imagery between two diverse wisdom traditions, this work explores what may be described as a natural, cross-cultural basic component of didactic poetry: a common denominator that gets to the root of archaic wisdom. Furthermore, as a poetic element seemingly rooted in the realities of agrarian society, such symbolism leads us to consider whether the moral authority it represents is purely poetic or whether it actually holds cultural capital. This exercise entails using the dynamics of a living tradition to understand more about one we access through texts and commentaries.

[1] Lum (1951), 11.

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Research Ethics Declaration

I have studied the Faculty of Humanities Guide to Research Ethics and the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Languages and Literatures has approved the method for dealing with human agents in this research. In all cases, my respondents were all made aware of the fact that their words would be recorded and possibly disseminated in a doctoral thesis or any other publication that emerges from the thesis. All my respondents agreed to be interviewed before the interviews commenced.

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CHAPTER FOUR: Power relations

CHAPTER FIVE: Moralising wealth: Animals and economic didactics.

Abbreviations.

KLCDA: Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association

NADA: Native Affairs Department Annual

Nau: Wentzel, J.P.(trans.) *Nau DzabaKalanga: A history of the Kalanga*, (Vol. 1) Unisa, Pretoria, (1983).

Tr.: Traczyk, K. (SVD) et al. *Kalanga*, (Unpublished collection), (c.2000). This is a collection of proverbs collected by the associates of Fr. Krystian Traczyk SVD in Plumtree Mission Ñ around the year 2000, Source: ‹ http://kalanga.org/texts-in-kalanga/proverbs/plumtree-proverbs/ ›

ZANU (PF): Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front).

For my Teachers

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Preamble

This study traces, through analogy, the occurrence of animal characters in the wisdom traditions of ancient Greece and proto-literate Kalanga societies. 'Kalanga' refers to a language and people found in south-western Zimbabwe and in north-eastern Botswana today. Linguistically-speaking, Kalanga has been classified as a dialect of the Shona language (the majority language in present-day Zimbabwe), together with other dialects like Lilima, Nambya, Venda and other 'Shona' languages of southern Africa.[1] Although mainstream Shona has been well researched, the same cannot be said of Kalanga.[2] Yet, archaeological and oral evidence indicates that Kalanga culture is relatively old (dating from c.1425AD).[3] Some ethnographers even contend that the Kalanga language seems to have been the most predominant language in south-western Zimbabwe, and must date back to c.900AD, which makes it one of the oldest surviving languages in southern Africa.[4] Huffman gives an even earlier date when he notes that the first Bantu-speaking farmers (not necessarily Kalanga) moved into the Mapungubwe region between c. 350 and 450AD.[5]

The poor documentation of Kalanga language and culture due to its minority status both in Zimbabwe and Botswana is the major inspiration behind this study, as I seek to bring Kalanga

[1] Wentzel (1983c) classifies Kalanga as Western Shona, and opines that the Kalanga might have been the first to cross the Zambezi river during the Bantu migrations (between two thousand and one thousand years ago), 9–10.
[2] van Waarden (1988b), 1.
[3] van Waarden (2012), 71.
[4] Fortune (1973), 3.
[5] Huffman (2000), 16.

oral traditions into academic focus, in the hope that by so doing, I may assist in the preservation of Kalanga. The Kalanga wisdom traditions that I handle include proverbs, folktales, praise poetry and other *gnomai* that are a result of lived experience and active research on the part of the researcher. The inspiration to compare the Archaic Age Greek and the proto-literate Kalanga stems from the basis that both constitute periods of literary renaissance or revival, and should shed light on some of the factors affecting the collection and documentation of oral traditions. What can Kalanga confirm about the Archaic Greek? And, what are the animal similarities and differences in both cultures?

The study looks at the anthropomorphic conception of animals in folklore. Why do the lion and eagle represent power, not only in Kalanga and Greek traditional thought, but also among numerous traditions around the world like the Old Testament, for example? The cunning fox is well represented in both oratures, and such similarities supply the impetus to undertake a comparative study of the two traditions. What are the nuances involved when people transfer their world onto animals? Animals do not speak. But do they not think? Do they not love? Do animals have emotions? Are foxes thieves, and are lions kings? Do people fall in love with animals? Do sad lovers change into animals? Are animals represented as copying people, or is it people who copy animals? Is it important that animals should have these human attributes in the first place?

People are fundamentally different from animals. On the distinction between human animals and non-human ones, Hesiod uses animal symbolism to justify the need for justice and fair dealing.

> τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων
> ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς

ἐσθέμεν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῖς·
ἀνθρώποισι δ᾽ ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
γίγνεται· εἰ γάρ τίς κ᾽ ἐθέλῃ τὰ δίκαι᾽ ἀγορεῦσαι
γιγνώσκων, τῷ μέν τ᾽ ὄλβον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.

Op. 276–281.

> For the son of Cronos has ordained this law for man, that fishes and beasts and winged fowls should devour one another, for right is not in them; but to manking he gave right which proves far the best. For whoever knows the right and is ready to speak it, far-seeing Zeus gives him prosperity (trans. Evelyn-White, 23–25)

In the passage above, Hesiod distinguishes between the way things are for humans and for animals. Lefkowitz notes that in this passage, Hesiod focuses on the dangers of violence (*hubris*) and the urgent need for justice (δίκη).[6] Van Dijk also concurs that the implication of this passage is that violent behaviour should not be used as a model for humans to emulate.[7] In this case, animals represent violence, while humans represent justice. The violation of justice by humans is cast as 'a disavowal of one's essential humanity and a downward sliding towards animal behaviour.'[8] In a study of the relationship between animal metaphors and social control among the Tzintzuntzan of Mexico, Brandes notes that Tzintzuntzan metaphors emphasise on animal-human differences, for example a stubborn person may be called *un animal*.[9] Thus, these comparisons emphasise the major difference between human and beast — justice, or lack thereof.

[6] Lefkowitz (2014), 9–10. Lefkowitz also compares this attitude of distinguishing humans from animals by citing Plato's *Protagoras* (320c–322d) where the sophist Protagoras tells a story of how Zeus gave justice to mankind to save them from one another; however, this gift was *not* granted to animals, 10.
[7] van Dijk (1997), 131.
[8] Lefkowitz (2014), 10.
[9] Brandes (1984), 211.

As such, the dissertation asks which animals have tended to be selected in the representation of various human personalities, for example, what is the inspiration behind the infamous choice of the dog to represent a broad spectrum of the 'bad'? My hypothesis is that these models are based on the observation of real animals, for example the sexual behaviour of actual dogs. Besides this, I also subscribe to the theory of 'symbolic affordance', one of the theories provided by anthrozology that talks of a cultural engagement with animals rather than mere observation of the animals.[10] What conclusions on didactics and wisdom traditions can we draw from a comparative study of this strange but common anthropomorphising of animals in these two distinct wisdom traditions?

Speaking of the function of fauna in oral literature, Ruth Finnegan says:

> When the narrators speak of the actions and characters of animals, they are also representing human faults and virtues somewhat removed and detached from reality through being presented in the guise of animals but nevertheless with an indirect relation to observed human action.[11]

Further, Homer assumes that the animals' actions are motivated by the same thoughts and impulses that drive the humans with whom they are compared.[12] Heath notes the commonalities, with anthropomorphic terms helping to bring out the animals' actions into the human realm: 'They have homes, both in the technical and domestic sense, and their offspring are called *tekna*, a standard term for human children as well.'[13]

[10] Bettini (2013), 137.
[11] Finnegan (1970), 354.
[12] Heath (2005), 45.
[13] Heath (2005), 44.

The layout of this chapter is as follows. I begin with a statement of the research problem and definition of terms before I venture into a discussion of my corpora, some of which are unpublished manuscripts and oral interviews. Since some of the Kalanga manuscripts are private documents, this first chapter also establishes a referencing system for each. I then define the term 'Kalanga' at some length as it is the culture and society that needs a more detailed introduction than its Archaic Age Greek counterpart in a thesis of this kind. Both Kalanga and Archaic Greek are concepts without fixed boundaries and are very much prone to debate.[14] A justification for comparing these two distinct cultures is also offered.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

All cultures in the world resort to wise sayings to serve didactic purposes. Among the Chinese, the wise sayings of Confucius are generally regarded as the yardstick of proper behaviour, as is the case with the Old Testament (Proverbs) for the Hebrews. In Ghana, Akan proverbs and aphorisms are well documented and demonstrate the importance of animals in the communication of cultural wisdom.[15] Archer Taylor says that the soul of a nation finds its expression in its proverbs[16] while Dorson on the other hand believes that while folklore is an echo of the past, it remains at the same time the vigorous voice of the present.[17]

This research is inspired by some apparent similarities in the deployment of animals in the utterance of wise sayings, and seeks to bring a rich, yet seemingly neglected southern African

[14] Emmanuel, (2012), gives an idea on the contested character of the Kalanga terrain. Although largely emotional in his manifesto-like approach, Emmanuel has consulted a list of scholars who attest to the antiquity of Kalanga culture, 3, n.2.
[15] Appiah (2007).
[16] Taylor (1971), 327.
[17] Dorson (1963), 98.

culture into academic focus. The impetus to compare Kalanga and Archaic Age Greek *gnomai* stems from the fact that the corpora from the two traditions represent the human spirit's early attempts at literary creation and documentation of centuries of oral tradition. It is not surprising that the two do this because the recording of oral traditions is such a wide spread phenomenon: I am interested in studying the poetics of animal imagery in the two traditions. The research explicitly traces the similarities and and differences in the construction of animal imagery in wisdom literatures.

An image like a metaphor presumes a simile, before it becomes a metaphor, and thus invites us to think twice, as it were. It is a step further than the ὡς (Lat. *ut*, 'as') that introduces a Homeric simile. Brandes says:

> 'Metaphor, by definition, involves intuitive leaps which connect aspects of two distinct semantic realms. But metaphor can only occur where these realms overlap in some fashion.'[18]

This study also investigates the allegorisation of human characters in narratives that are constructed using animal characters. Sunkuli and Miruka define allegory as a 'short story or poem in which the characters, be they people, animals, birds and events, represent virtue and vice in real human life.'[19] Another definition of allegory can be found in Barnet (et al.) who emphasise that where allegory is concerned, the true meanings of narratives can be obtained by translating its persons, animals in this case, into others that they are understood to symbolise.[20] In this research, I pay attention to abstractions that include cleverness, stupidity, love, power, richness and poverty, which are some of the literary situations in which animals are used to

[18] Brandes (1984), 210.
[19] Sunkuli and Miruka (1990), 1–2, quoted from Vambe, (2004), 5.
[20] Barnet (1964) says, 'Whereas an allegory may be short or long, a parable ... is always short', 12–13.

describe people. The majestic lion, the sly fox, the clever hare, the wise owl, the duped hyena, the bamboozled baboon and the bitching dog are some of the leading typologies considered.

The fauna in the two areas of study are so vast and diverse that it is impossible to study all the animals in this work, hence the need to pay attention to common and typical examples. It must be borne in mind that the animals in folktales and other wisdom literatures stand for human beings.[21] Steiner asks the question, 'what are the implications of the fable-tellers' choice to use animals in their generic self-fashionings?'[22] While acknowledging the fundamental differences between human beings and animals, Bourdillon argues that parallels can be drawn between animal behaviour and human behaviour.[23] It is curious that human beings should compare themselves to animals when the latter are not comparable with humans. From a human perspective, animals are less developed technically and communicatively, thereby making the comparison of people and animals a captivating enterprise.[24]

Animals are not people, and they do not go around holding meetings, nor do they dress in 'shiny armour' like the mice and frogs in the *Batrachomyomachia.* Yet in literature, animals have been used to draw convincing pictures of human society. That this is a widespread tendency will be seen in perusing any culture's 'children's literature', for example cartoons.[25] The tradition of using animals to represent people predates literacy, let alone three-dimensional, High-Definition

[21] *Collins Paperback Dictionary* s.v. 'character', 'characterize', etc. To 'characterize' is to describe or portray the nature of something. Also, Matshakayile-Ndlovu (1994), 'Art reflects reality in images', 8.
[22] Steiner (2012), 3.
[23] Bourdillon (1990), 17.
[24] Lefkowitz (2014) brings this debate up and concludes that Aristotle's belief that animals do not have words (*onomata*) was grounded in the belief that words involve a convention (*suntheke*) (cf. Aristotle, *De Interpretatione* 2, 16a26–9.), 10. Also, Bettini (2013) who notes that although animals have been viewed as close to mankind, they are still used to represent the 'other', especially because they cannot speak, 139.
[25] Lewis (1954). In *The Chronicles of Narnia*, C.S. Lewis depicts God as a lion, Aslan, and other human stations are represented by various animals like the valiant mouse, the kindly horse, etc.

representations on TV today.[26] In this study I juxtapose scientific and popular reports on the behaviour and appearance of particular animals in myth, determining how this natural or scientific truth feeds the popular view, thereby accounting for, and determining, the processes in the mythologisation of animals in wisdom literature.

Pierre Haddot believes that the reason why people recall natural phenomena in works of art and philosophy is so as to define particular areas of their experience in which there might be a relationship to the world bearing a resemblance to that which existed between the ancient sage and the cosmos.[27] I critically follow this line of thinking in my quest to understand the importance of the appearance of animals in myth. Major questions revolve around animals in so far as they can inform us about the ethical values, economic, political and social relations of the cultures under study. How authoritative is the world of myth in reconstructing the *real* world of the sages who committed the oral literatures to memory before they got written down? Why are there similarities (and differences) in the typologies of certain animals for the two different cultures under study?

More broadly, the research also tests the comparative approach, while asking the important question whether animal tales can be seriously regarded as a source of authority, or *mythos*.[28] Here, authority is understood both as a source of moral law, and as a reliable tool in the study of

[26] Lefkowitz (2014) '…it is generally assumed that written fables bear traces of an oral tradition that stretches back to the very dawn of history', 2.
[27] Haddot (1997), 257. Also, Brandes (1984) indicates that humans have some bestial tendencies, e.g. sexuality, and animal terms abound among metaphors that describe human sexuality, 212.
[28] Chaston (2002), 3, quoting Martin (1989), 2, who defines *mythos* in Homer as a speech-act indicating authority, performed at length, usually in public. 'Martin lists three situations in which such authoritative speech occurs: in the giving of commands, in verbal contests, and in the recounting of the past. Martin also notes the endorsement in the *Iliad* of authoritative speech with the 'sceptre and traditions' (*Il*. 9.99).

cultural history. One level of authority can be seen in Justina Gregory's study of people's attitude towards equines in ancient Greece which reveals that the lowly position of donkeys in the equine hierarchy (including mules and horses) points more towards function of donkeys and mules in ancient Greek society.[29] Where they appear, in Greek literature, donkeys usually play inferior roles because of this interaction between people and their animals in the realm of reality.

1.3 Definition of Terms

a) Wisdom Literature

Wisdom literature is 'a term used to denote markedly successful problem-solving ability, particularly in personal social domains, in the face of complexity, subtlety, novelty and/or uncertainty'.[30] Wisdom literature is not easy to narrow down, as it includes discussions of 'factually true things'— ἐτήτυμα, which Hesiod wants to teach his Brother Perses, (*Op.* 10).[31] Lambert observes that wisdom literature is hard to define because there is no single canon by which to recognise them. However, he includes fables, popular sayings and proverbs in his list of literature that fits into this category. The notion of 'wisdom literature' originally belongs to Hebraic studies, and is applied to the books of Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and entails pious living. Lambert also cautiously equates wisdom literature with what is known as Greek philosophy today.[32] Wisdom traditions have also been equated to *sophia* which, '...ambraces

[29] Gregory (2007), 193.
[30] Brown (2000), 194. West (1978), says wisdom literature includes works of exhortation and instruction, 3. Zeitlin (1996) identifies *Works and Days* as 'a didactic work of wisdom literature', 54.
[31] Zhang (2009), 8. Also Martin (1989).
[32] Lambert (1960) says in some contexts, 'wisdom' refers to skill in cult and magic lore, with the wise man as the initiate, 1–2.

poetic skill, practical wisdom, and religious expertise — especially in the domains of sacrifice and seercraft/mantic art', according to Kurke.[33]

The poets and singers were regularly regarded as holders of wisdom. In the *Lysis* Plato describes poets as fathers and authors of wisdom: . . . τοὺς ποιητάς· οὗτοι γὰρ ἡμῖν ὥσπερ πατέρες τῆς σοφίας εἰσὶν καὶ ἡγεμόνες, '...even as the poets are the fathers and leaders of wisdom' (*Lysis* 214a.1).[34] A study of *Protagoras* (326a, 339a) reveals Protagoras as postulating that since poets such as Homer have been accepted as educators, their teachings also help to make good citizens. In *Prot*. 326a, young men are taught the eulogies of good men so that they can emulate them. I will therefore add that for me, wisdom literature refers to works of art that have didactic elements in them; wisdom literature is didactic.

b) Fauna

The Collins paperback dictionary entry for fauna reads: 1. 'All the animal life of a given place or time'; 2. 'A descriptive list of such animals.'[35] Although I am aware that human beings biologically belong in this group, I use the term essentially in reference to non-human animals. Going to the question: Why animals? Human beings are animals, in the first place. But this study focuses on the other animals with which they have always interacted. *Conversio in animalia*[36] is a universal method of moral education and entertainment that cuts across many oral literatures.

[33] Kurke (2011), 95.
[34] My translation
[35] *The Collins Paperback Dictionary*, s.v. 'Fauna.'
[36] My own phrase that refers to conversion of human characters into animal characters in speech.

Many Kalanga people have names of animals, which means they identify themselves as animals. Likewise, some Greek people had animal names too, especially the compounds of *hippos*, for example Hippodamia, Hippocrates, and so on. Although the Greeks did not have totems, these names prove that the Greeks rather thought of themselves as skilled riders and 'master' of these animals. Hexameter poems of the Greeks indicate them living side by side with animals, and in their mythological processes, the gods sometimes appear in the form of animals.[37] People live with animals, they eat animals and use them for draft, among many other uses. Humans also use animals as characters in stories to represent human situations. The appearance of animals in stories can tell us something about ourselves.

c) Aphorism or *sententia*

An aphorism is pointed statement of truth. The *Collins Paperback Dictionary* defines an aphorism as a 'short pithy saying expressing a general truth'.[38] An example is Pope's 'Hope springs eternal in the human breast' If the authorship is unknown and the aphorism has become common property, it is a proverb.' If it gives advice on behaviour, it is a maxim. Gnomic poetry consists of aphorisms, proverbs and maxims. Oral poets are often gnomic, but so, too, are sophisticated poets.[39]

[37] For example, Zeus with Leda.
[38] McLeod (1986), 34. s.v. 'aphorism.'
[39] Barnet et al. (1964), 15. s.v. 'aphorism or *sententia.*'

d) Proverb

A proverb is 'a short memorable saying embodying some commonplace fact'.[40] It is not easy to define proverbs, says Taylor:

> '…men know Märchen, jest, or anecdote, but do not readily recognize a proverbial phrase, a truism like 'Enough is enough,' or medical advice like 'An apple a day drives the doctor away.' Why this difference in familiarity with the varieties of tales and the varieties of proverbs exists might well suggest further study'.[41]

For purposes of this research, I limit my study to collections which contain moralizing or didactic proverbs that feature animals. Archer Taylor says:

> 'All of these collections contained materials for the reader's instruction. Even now a "collection of proverbs" is more likely to suggest a collection of didactic materials than anything else.'[42]

Adding on, Finnegan says the most noticeable characteristic of proverbs is their allusive wording that usually appears in metaphorical form.[43]

Kalanga riddles, for example, have the same pervasive metaphorical quality to them. Chebanne notes that the Kalanga name for 'clever saying' *kungulupeswa* (plural, *makungulupeswa*) includes riddles (*mapeso*) like *swimbgwana dza mposela kule,* 'The little knobkerries (*swimbgwana*) of the one who throws very far', to mean the eyes, because they can see things that are at a distance. The second category under *makungulupeswa* comprises proverbs

[40] McLeod (1986), 680. S.v. 'proverb.'
[41] Taylor (1971), 320.
[42] Taylor (1971), 321.
[43] Finnegan (1970), 380.

(*zwitjimbe* in the Lilima dialect of Kalanga).[44] 'Riddles teach how to think fast, while proverbs teach wisdom about life.'[45] In this thesis, I pay more attention to the second category of proverbs, which are moralistic, rather than riddles which are largely brain-teasers. The link between proverb and metaphor can also be seen in Joseph Russo who defines the proverb as follows:

> 'I define the proverb as a brief, well-shaped complete sentence, understood by its users as anonymous in authorship, existing in the language for a long time in almost invariant form, stating a general truth that everyone would accept as important and useful to recall, and, because of this antiquity and accuracy of insight, sanctioned or almost "sanctified" by the culture as wisdom of the elders that must be taken seriously, must be accorded "weight", when spoken.'[46]

Speaking of Ndebele folklore, S.J. Mhlabi notes that a proverb, for example, is an abbreviated folktale as a person grows up.[47] People tend to shun folktales as they grow up, although some pick up the hobby as they become older (grandmothers and grandfathers). A proverb achieves what the folktale achieves more economically. An example of a Kalanga proverb and its interpretation reads *Tjibudzana tjokumbula kanyi ngosunungwa: Unnu asikanyi kukwe akadziyila unoziba kwakabva*: 'A little goat remembers home after it has been castrated: A person who is not at his home will remember it when he is suffering' (Tr. 166).[48] Now I will venture to define didactic literature.

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[44] Moswela et al. (1998a), 1.
[45] Moswela et al. (1998a), 1 and 10.
[46] Russo (1983), 121., and 'Succinctness or concision, *syntomia*, is a self-evident and universal feature of proverbs. What makes them so handy, so pungent, so easy to recall and re-use, is the fact that they are short', 122.
[47] Mhlabi (2000), 12.
[48] This reference notation refers to the 166th proverb in the Traczyk collection of Kalanga proverbs and their exegeses. See subheading 'Kalanga corpora' below.

e) Didactic literature

The *Dictionary of Literary Terms* defines didactic as literature that is explicitly instructive, and is sometimes opposed to 'pure poetry', which is supposedly devoid of instruction and moral content.'[49]

f) Formula

A formula is 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea.'[50]

g) Theme

Following Lord, I take a theme to refer to a 'subject unit, a group of ideas, regularly employed by a singer, not merely in any given poem, but in the poetry as a whole.'[51]

h) Totem and praise song

'Totem' refers to an object, animal or plant that symbolises a clan or family and has ritual associations.[52] The importance of the totem system lies in the fact that almost all Kalanga people are surnamed for animals or body parts of animals. A praise song is a poetic commendation or admiration of a person's attributes. Thus, the context for totems is performative, as a person may recite another's totem as a sign of gratitude or praise, for instance *Nau* 1.1, 'Mwali's praises in

[49] Barnet et al. (1964), 49.
[50] Parry (1930), 80. See also, Tedlock (1977), 508 for the numerous improvisations that a reciter might use instead of words. These include gestures, facial expressions that substitute the words.
[51] Lord (1938), 440.
[52] McLeod (1986), 915. s.v. 'totem.'

Kalanga.'[53] I explore these throughout the thesis. A totem is also one's identity. Taboos place limits/restraints on consumption. John Heath cites Levi Strauss' famous observation that animals are chosen for totemic representations not because they are good to eat, but because they are good to think with.[54] Strauss indicates that totems are emblems that have a corresponding taboo, for example a respect for the animal or plant, which is typically manifested in a prohibition on eating the animal or plant, or using it except on certain conditions.[55] Similarly, Tambiah argues that dietary prohibitions among the Kachin (north east Thailand) make sense in relation to a systematic ordering of ideas as exemplified by the abominations of Leviticus.[56]

1.4 Kalanga

I will spend significant time defining Kalanga so that I do not have to keep repeating information. This is because very few Classicists know anything about the term. The second reason is that Kalanga has been largely understudied and misrepresented especially in the area of modern Zimbabwean history. Mazarire says,

> ' In contrast, until fairly recently, we did not know as much about the Kalanga who have constantly been treated as a sub-ethnicity of the major groups in southwestern Zimbabwe such as the Ndebele, Tswana and Shona.'[57]

This study also seeks to contribute to the ongoing debates on the place of Kalanga in the early history and cultural development of Southern Africa.

[53] Also *Nau* 5.16; 5.33. See also Nthoi (2006), xvi.
[54] Heath (2005), 1., quoting Strauss (1969), 162.
[55] Strauss (1962), 7–8.
[56] Tambiah (1969), 423–4.
[57] Mazarire (2003), 1.

Kalanga refers to a language and people found in the South-Western parts of Zimbabwe as well as in those areas in Botswana that are adjacent to the border with Zimbabwe. As noted above, Kalanga has been classified as a Shona language, together with other languages like Nambya, and other 'Shona' languages.[58] It is strange to me that Kalanga should be referred to as such, because the oldest occurrence of the written word 'Shona' known to me appears in 1893 where it seems that the name could have been provided by the Ndebele as derogatory.[59] The oldest source known to me seems to suggest that 'maShona', that is, 'the Shona people' is a standardisation of the word *Mazwina*, lit. 'filth or dirt.'[60] This view is supported by the historian D.N. Beach who concurs that the name 'Shona' was first used by the Ndebele in reference to the Rozvi. The word was extended by degrees, first to the central Shona and then extended to the rest of the other people.[61] Before this date, the names used for people living on the Zimbabwean plateau prior to the advent of the Nguni in around 1840 were variably referred to as Makalaka, Mocaranga.[62] The former is a Sotho-Tswana label that the white prospectors might have picked up among the Sotho or Tswana who doubtless called them Makalaka.[63] Mocaranga appears in Portuguese writings. The naming then, is influenced externally rather than internally.

Until quite recently the Kalanga language was falling into disuse as most people in this part of Zimbabwe and Botswana had (and still have) adopted their *linguae francae*, Ndebele and

[58] Wentzel (1983c) uses the terms 'Western Shona' for Kalanga, xi.
[59] The Ndebele were themselves named by the Tswana, 'Matebele', the men of long shields, a term still in use in the naming of the two Matabeleland provinces in Zimbabwe. This illustrates the effects of external naming.
[60] Hartmann, (1893), 2.
[61] Beach (1980), 18; and n.27 which notes that the Shona did not use the term 'Shona' of themselves, but the Ndebele usage gained ground with the help of the writers of dictionaries and grammars.
[62] Emmanuel (2012), 115.
[63] Weale, (1893), 1. In his title, the author promises to talk about the Makalaka, but in his introduction, uses the word Mashona instead. This suggests that at some point these people would have been viewed as similar in the eyes of an outsider. However, Hartmann indicates that the people in the area called Mashonaland today did not refer to themselves as Mashona, preferring, rather, to call themselves by the name of their paramount chiefs, e.g. Makoni's people are called Wamangwe; those of Mutoko, Wanudsha (sic), etc. (1893), 1–2.

seTswana as their home languages. This relegated Kalanga to a language of old people who already knew it, with the young shunning it in favour of English, seTswana, Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu among the Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. However, prior to becoming a 'kitchen language', Kalanga featured extensively in the prehistory of Zimbabwe and Southern Africa. The Leopard's Kopje Culture (K2) has been identified as predominantly Kalanga.[64]

The monument of Mapungubwe in South Africa has a Kalanga name for foxes or jackals (Mapungubwe). The highest civil award in South Africa is called the Mapungubwe Award. Some have even argued that the Zimbabwe culture is Kalanga, contrary to the current tradition which explains the word Zimbabwe as deriving from *dzimba dzamabwe* (Shona, lit. 'Houses of stones'). In defence of Kalanga, Emmanuel has argued that the word Zimbabwe comes from *Nzi-mabwe* (a royal enclosure) — which is essentially what the Great Zimbabwe and its related structures like Khami, Dlodlo and Luswingo are, not *houses* of stone.[65] Using archaeological methods, Huffman argues that the Zimbabwe culture continued in one form or another from c. A.D. 1220 until the early twentieth century.[66] These are pertinent issues in African politics, and the Kalanga Classicist attempts to add to the ongoing debate from a new perspective. Can Classics help solve today's problems?

[64] Mudenge (1988), 22 (with his biases understood). Also, van Waarden (1991) says the ancestors of baKalanga belonged to the Leopard's Kopje culture and subsequently the Khami culture, 12.
[65] Emmanuel (2012), 19 and 168 n.42.
[66] Huffman (2000), 14.

Culturally, the centrality of Kalanga can be seen in the religion of Mwali and its spread across various neighbouring cultures.[67] According to Venda oral traditions, for example, Mwali (God) spoke the Kalanga language,[68] and according to many elderly Kalanga with whom I have held informal conversations, 'all' traditional shrines in Zimbabwe are of Kalanga origin. This argument is valid, especially when one looks at the linguistic possibilities. The word Njelele,[69] the main shrine of Mwali in the Matopos region of Zimbabwe, is Kalanga for 'eagle.' Some places in buKalanga (the land of the Kalanga) also feature animal names, for example Ntunungwe 'Leopard's Kopje', Mbila, 'rock rabbit/ dassie,' and so on. On the other hand, these examples attest to the antiquity and centrality of the Kalanga language on the Zimbabwean plateau, while also showing the importance of animals in the Kalanga psyche. It must be borne in mind that in most of these places, the everyday language now is Ndebele.

In addition, some of the tenets under survey actually emanate from traditional religious shrines whose functions sometimes show parallels to the Greek oracles.[70] The few researchers on Kalanga language and ethnography are agreed on the paucity of written material, and have urged that more research be carried out. This project is a response to some of their concerns, viewed from a Classicist's perspective. In a public lecture delivered at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Now University of Zimbabwe), Classics Professor H. F. Guite urged

[67] Fortune (1973), who notes the ease with which the name Mwali has been used to mean God (in the Christian sense of the word) in Kalanga Christian circles, 5–6. This suggests that the view of the divine in Kalanga was monotheistic.
[68] Schutte (1978), 119.
[69] Interview with Phineas Moyo (Diba village, Plumtree, 15 August 2012). Mr. Moyo explained that his understanding of the word is based on the 'fact' that the Kalanga were led by a hawk to establish what is arguably the largest traditional shrine in Southern Africa. Once the sacred place was identified, the people proceeded to name it after the ominous bird. There is also a place some 30km due North of Plumtree whose name 'Ntunungwe' means Leopard's Kopje (*ntunu= kopje; ngwe= leopard*.
[70] Both ancient Greek and Kalanga shrines claim to have a god who spoke (speaks) through a priestly medium. For more information see van Binsbergen (1991), and Mafu, (1995).

that we should not teach any civilization, no matter how rich and varied, in total isolation from the rest of world- history, and in isolation from the problems of our own day.[71] This research adds a unique case- study to the areas of African oral literary theory, cultural studies, philosophy and religious thought. It also attempts to answer the contentious debate on the origins, and perhaps age of the Kalanga culture. The 'history'[72] of baKalanga (Kalanga people) has proven to be elusive and subject to unending, and sometimes culturally chauvinistic debate.[73]

In Botswana, Kalanga is not studied at any school, as Kalanga pupils learn seTswana and English only. However, in Zimbabwe the situation has quite improved as the language began to be taught in January 2014 from the levels Grade 0–7. Prior to this, Kalanga children like myself had to learn Ndebele and English languages at school, while speaking a mixture of Ndebele and Kalanga both at home and at school, never proficient at both. Ennocent Msindo looks at the socio-linguistics of Tjikalanga language during the years 1930–1960, and situates the problem of Kalanga identity crisis as an aftermath of Clement Doke's recommendations on Rhodesia's language policy:

> 'Tjikalanga, being neither Ndebele nor Shona, had already been left to struggle with its identity crisis after Doke…. This made the baKalanga position even more difficult; this difficult situation, however, was responsible for Kalanga ethnicity and language feeding into one another.'[74]

[71] Guite (1965), 5.
[72] My use of the word 'history' is not in the professional sense of the word. The presence of the word in this research is inspired by a response that I got from some of my informants during interviews, for example Mr. Pu Tjikoba (62 years old), who insisted that what he was telling me was history: the real history of baKalanga. I would call this type 'Social History' (interview held at Tjehanga village, August 2008).
[73] For the contestable identity of Kalanga and the related identity crises, see: van Binsbergen (1991), 309–344; Msindo (2005), 79–103; Chimhundu (1992), 87–109 and Emmanuel (2012). Also, Van Waarden (2012), 26.
[74] Msindo (2005), 87.

An illustration of this identity crisis was seen during interviews, where most Kalanga people professed ignorance about certain proverbs, indicating that the proverbs were in old Kalanga (*tjiKalanga tjantolo*). It is true that Kalanga aphorisms abound in old forms whose meanings are largely archaic and obscure,[75] but Aristotle acknowledges how the strange and 'remote' (which could also be a result of being archaic) are appropriate to poetry, (*Rhet.* 1404b 10–12). Below is a list of the Kalanga works that I collected and refer to in this work.

1.5 Kalanga corpora

The author is in possession of an unpublished Kalanga corpus of some four hundred and seventy-one (471) Kalanga proverbs and their interpretations that were collected and documented by the Plumtree Roman Catholic Mission in the Dombodema area around the year 2000.[76] This is supported by another similar collection of one hundred (100) proverbs and thirty (30) riddles in the Lilima dialect of Kalanga (which is spoken in Botswana) with translations into English.[77] Some of my data is a product of many years of experience (largely lived), and a number of deliberate trips to my rural home at Plumtree, a visit to the rainmaking shrine at Manyangwa in August 2008, and another to the University of Botswana where I had access to a number of

[75] In an interview with Dr. John Makhubalo, President of the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA), and Pax Nkomo, the editor of the Primary school series, *Zwidiye TjiKalanga*, both avid and fluent speakers of the language, I put forward the proverb from the Traczyk collection: *mhembwe ludzi, yazwagwa inalutoba* (Tr. 10) 'a duiker belongs to the family, if born with a *lutoba*.' [translations mine]. The two were able to give the interpretation of the proverb to mean 'a child belongs to the family if it has a familiar trait': to mean that if one is a thief, they should not be surprised when they bring forth thieving offspring. Of interest is the fact that my two experts could not tell me what *lutoba* denotes [comparative linguistics suggests it might mean 'spot'], a suggestion of the relationship between these Shonic [If I may] dialects. My respondents at Diba were not in a position to even translate the proverb. This is because theirs is a hybridized environment where Ndebele is not only the lingua franca, but also the home language, and Kalanga seems to be the old-fashioned language of old people. The Botswana collection translates the proverb into English rather prosaically: 'All duiker's relatives are the same, even the newly born look alike. Meaning: People of the same ancestry usually behave in a similar way, Moswela et al. (1998a), 6.

[76] These proverbs are available, unedited, in the following website ‹ http://kalanga.org/texts-in-kalanga/proverbs/plumtree-proverbs/ › (Last checked 15 September 2015)

[77] Moswela et al. (1998a).

Honours and Masters' dissertations at the Library's Special Collections. I also managed to access some unique and exclusive documents at the Botswana National Archives. These are useful in that some of them come with appendices that include folktales and sometimes praise poetry.

I am indebted to Fr. Krystian Traczyk SVD, who oversaw the compilation of the Dombodema collection of proverbs and handed them to me, challenging me to do the best with them. I call this the Traczyk collection, and I have chosen to use the acronym (Tr.) to refer to this collection of proverbs from Plumtree as a gesture and honour to Father Traczyk. As such, Tr.5 refers to the fifth proverb in the collection. The reader can refer to the website for the full list of the proverbs. I also walked out of Plumtree Mission with a copy of Luzumo Khuphe's Kalanga-English dictionary, *Sengadama.*[78] I am grateful to the Church for giving me access to these documents which are unavailable anywhere else in the world. In Botswana it is the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (LCSA) that promotes the revival of Kalanga, or iKalanga as the language is called in Botswana. The proverbs come without any literary contexts, that is, they are just lists with interpretations, without any literary context whatsoever. Kalanga texts still lack this textual history and in-depth criticism. In both societies, the oral and the written operate in symbiosis. The written preserves the spoken, while the spoken gives word to what shall be written down. The list of my primary texts stands as follows.

Wentzel J.P. *Nau Dzabakalanga: A History of the Kalanga* (Vols.1–3), UNISA Press, Pretoria, (1983). Volume 1 is a key sourcebook on Kalanga oral tradition and legendary history and praise poetry. Volume 2 is made of annotations to volume 1, while volume 3 is entitled *The*

[78] Khupe (2008).

relationship between Venda and Western Shona. Masola Kumile began collecting material in Vol. 1 (hereafter, *Nau*) in 1922,[79] and the text includes various aspects of what I regard as Kalanga wisdom literature, that is, taboos, riddles, customs, praise poetry and etymologies. A randomly chosen verse describes God (Mwali) as, '*Mpani usina mako/ wakanotjidza sindi yanyala*', 'the mupani tree which does not have holes in the stem,/ which came to the rescue of the squirrel when tired,' (*Nau*. 1.1.3). Kumile's (and Kalanga) conception of the divine is monotheistic as opposed to the polytheism in Greek religion. Archaic Greek poetry and the praise poetry in *Nau* are enchanting and deal with roughly similar issues, that is, the attributes of good political leadership and perspectives on religion. Although written in prose, the accounts of Kalanga kings and chiefs are clearly heroic narratives. To define its form, *Nau* is a miscellany, a potpourri that narrates the national legends of the Kalanga, and resorts to the of use poetry,[80] similes, epithets, repeated lines and passages, as well as phrases and other stylistic features that seem associable to epic poetry, for example the extensive appearance of the supernatural.[81] The rarity of *Nau* in Zimbabwe makes it a precious book, and therefore of great interest.

Another collection by Traczyk, K. (SVD) (et. al.) titled *Kalanga*, (Unpublished collection), (c.2000).

This is a list of 471 Kalanga proverbs and their interpretations. The proverbs were collected by Fr. Krystian Traczyk (SVD) and his associates in Plumtree Mission Ñ around the year 2000, and were handed to me for purposes of this and further research. I translated the proverbs and their

[79] *Nau*. Preface.
[80] *Nau.* 1.1 features the praise poetry of Mwali in Kalanga, while 1.2 sings the praises of Chibundule, the last Kalanga king and his three councillors; 1.3 is a rendition of the praise songs of Nichasike, the Rozvi regent who displaced Chibundule, the last King of buKalanga and 1.4 is a praise song for the gun of Mambo and its keeper, Ninjigwe.
[81] *Nau*. 5.28–9, magicians hold a contest for nailing an animal hide on a rock, while at 5.3, they hold a contest to pluck a monkey orange (*damba*) and then return it to its scion.

provided interpretations into English. Where a word or phrase in a proverb eluded me, as was usually the case, I sought help from my informants either physically, by phone or virtually on social networks. There are many typographical errors in the manuscript, and part of my objectives is to set the proverbs into a recognizable and consistent orthography for the purpose of this research. It is important to note that Kalanga language does not have a standard orthography as can be seen in the use of 'Tshikalanga,' 'Chikalanga,' 'Tjikalanga,' 'iKalanga', 'Ikalanga' to refer to the Kalanga language.

Furthermore, Moswela, et.al.'s *Mongo weNdebo: Makungulupeswa ne mabatshano nge Ikalanga (The crux of the matter: wise sayings and helping each other in Kalanga)* (1998a), is a collection of some one hundred and thirty (130) Kalanga proverbs and riddles that was done in Botswana by Mukani Action Campaign. In the preface, Professor Chebanne of the University of Botswana draws the distinction between proverbs and riddles. The collection also comes with an English translation and interpretation. Like the Traczyk collection, this is a product of collective effort, but it has the advantage of having been published already. I also use other collections of folktales like Mbulawa's *Thengwana ye Ndebo (A Basket of Stories)* (2001), and Mothibi's *Thawu, ndebo, Ngano nekwa Mwali*, (*History, stories and folktales about Mwali*) (1999). There is also a collection of 'Kalanga' folktales in English by Chebani entitled *Ngalabe & other stories of Northeast Botswana*, (2001).[82] As I have already mentioned, I also rely on University of Botswana students' dissertations such as Lopang (2003) and Maikano (1977) as some of them come with narrations of folktales in their indices which are not available anywhere else known to me in a written and referable text.

[82] Not to be confused with Chebanne.

1.6 Pitfalls of Kalanga data

The effect of Ndebele colonialism that happened in the 1840s can still be felt even in north eastern Botswana as the Ndebele Kingdom stretched that far, from its capital Bulawayo. SeTswana and English languages are the only official languages in Botswana, which endangers other minor languages like Kalanga and the various Khoisan dialects. This situation has been called subtractive bilingualism, which occurs when the acquisition of a second language and culture takes place at the expense of one's first language. This has been associated with disabling educational settings for minority language speakers.[83] It also has an effect on some Kalanga folktales because they are subsumed in neighbouring of dominant languages like Ndebele, for example in Matshakayile-Ndlovu's MPhil thesis titled *The influence of folktales and other factors on the early narratives in Ndebele literature*, Kalanga songs appear in tales that were recited to him in Ndebele language.[84]

Until quite recently, Kalanga culture and language have remained undocumented and in numerous variations that sometimes contradict themselves, each other, and are also in semantic disarray for lack of writing and documentation, and at the same time of a uniform orthography, as my Kalanga texts prove. Most of the 'oral' literature as it appears today was written in the last few decades (mostly over the last twenty years) by people in haste to preserve this apparently dying language.[85]

[83] Molosiwa and Mokibelo, (2010), 91.
[84] Matshakayile-Ndlovu (1995).
[85] Mukani Action Campaign, a subcommittee of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (LCSA) has championed the cause for the preservation of Kalanga culture in Botswana and has facilitated the writing of most of my Kalanga bibliography. This has been done with the assistance of the Society for the Preservation of Ikalanga Language (SPIL). In Zimbabwe, the Kalanga Language and Cultural Development Association (KLCDA), under the chairmanship of Mr. Pax Nkomo, has championed the Kalanga cause, with the result that the language is now being

All collectors and transcribers of the Kalanga tales consulted received colonial and post-colonial education, which also included, and still includes, Biblical and Classical tales. Likewise, most of my interlocutors in the interviews had some level of formal education. There is also a chance that folktales that are recorded as purportedly Kalanga might contain some influence from the Biblical and Classical stories, as well as Ndebele or Tswana folkloric elements. However, this is not the case with Kalanga proverbs because proverbs are formulaic. Besides the differences in dialects used, the Traczyk collection and that by Moswela et al. are almost similar. The Traczyk collection is written in a dialect of Kalanga that is called 'Kalanga', while that by Moswela is in the Lilima dialect. Moswela is the principal editor of the later collection that was compiled from the proceedings of the 1995 series of Kalanga Writers' Workshop under the auspices of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa.[86]

There is a chance that some Kalanga wisdom literature as it appears today has traces of influence from Christianity since contemporary Kalanga societies are largely Christian. It should be interesting to trace the integration of ancient Mediterranean wisdom traditions into the African. Similarly, Archaic Age Greek poetry sometimes shows traces of hybridism with Near Eastern traditions and is therefore also liable to scrutiny for Eastern elements.[87] The crowning of this research is a fresh reflection on the allegation that Kalanga people have Semitic origins, as has been contended by some scholars in the past.[88] In light of this, it becomes necessary to evaluate

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taught and examined in the formal education system in Zimbabwe. The influence of these organisations on the available written documents is great.

[86] Moswela et al. (1998a).

[87] West (1997). As the title *The East face of Helicon* indicates, this book traces the meeting of the East with the West, as evidenced in epic poetry, 1.

[88] Emmanuel (2012), 259 citing Molema (1920), 68; Peters (1902), 121–124; Bent, (1892), 31–32; Hall & Neal (1904), 114; and Theal (1907), 297. Also, Fortune (1973) who notes some 'Islamic traits' among the Lemba, a priestly group that speaks '...a form of Kalanga....', 3.

the influence of Near-Eastern mythology on both cases studied. I attempt this topic in Chapter Four.

Since the corpus of written Kalanga orature used for this research is recent, and most of the interviewees received western-type education, one cannot rule out the possibility that they may confuse a story that they read in a book with a Kalanga traditional tale, or fused some external information into Kalanga. A suspected case is the similarity between a Kalanga tale that features hare duping fox. This story has striking similarities with the native American tale of Brer Rabbit and Brer Fox which reflect a blend of European/African/Native American traditions.[89] The stories of Brer Rabbit/Fox are older than the written Kalanga corpora, which are of a very recent date. The effects of western education, as well as folktales from other non-Kalanga ethnic groups are also studied here as no culture is hermetically sealed from outside influence. In an interview, Mr. Nkomo was aware of the spread of similar folktale elements among people. The originality of the folktale was not a big issue for him. What mattered was the organizational part of the book production process. 'Well, it does not matter. The tales can now be viewed as Kalanga since they now appear in the Kalanga language,' he said.[90] This remark ties in with the last pitfall, that is the problem of translation. With the exception of *Nau*, A.W. Chebani's *Ngalabe & Other Stories of Northeast Botswana* (2000), and Malikongwa's (2003) collection of Kalanga proverbs all my Kalanga corpora appear without translations, with the result that I have to come up with my own translations, a process which presented its own difficulties, as shall be seen in the laboured translation of Moswela, et al. book title, *Mongo weNdebo: Makungulupeswa ne mabatshano nge*

[89] See Chapter Three.
[90] Interview with Pax Nkomo (University of Zimbabwe, 10 May 2012).

ikalanga, '*The crux of the matter: wise sayings and helping each other in Kalanga*'.[91] As such, besides adumbrating about animals *qua* animals, the research brings to the surface some of the processes involved in the documentation of oral literature.

Some Kalanga folklore is highly unintelligible to most Kalanga people. This is because they sound like ancient incantations that are recited based on their formulae rather than from any personal understanding on the speaker's part. This tendency indicates that old Kalanga orature can tell us something about the nature of Kalanga formulaic language. Heda Jason believes that the question at hand is not 'What can I learn about the society I happen to be interested in from its oral literature?' Rather, she prefers to ask questions on the innate qualities that shape an oral literature, as well as the outer forces which shape oral literature, and the interrelations of oral literature with its literary, cultural and social contexts.[92] The ongoing research seeks to learn about a culture from its orature, while also paying attention to questions of the background against which Kalanga orature is now emerging in its written form.

While the importance of oral literature as a source of information for other cultures, including the Hellenic, may be downplayed, I find it necessary pertaining to the Kalanga, whose history has remained largely uncharted and sometimes misrepresented. Speculative scholars like Aeneas Chigwedere have come up with all forms of suggestions that seem to go against common historical chronology by indicating that the Kalanga came from East Africa, where the sun (*langa*) in the Nguni stock of languages rises, arguing that this is where the etymology of

[91] Moswela et al. (1998a).
[92] Jason (1969), 413.

Kalanga derives — 'the people of the sun.'[93] This view is also supported by Sebina who speculates that the word has its origin from an ancient god which the people worshipped — the Sun god.[94] What Chigwedere and Sebina fail to see is that the words *Kalanga*, *Kalaka* or *Mocaranga* predate any contact between Kalanga and Nguni groups. Sebina ignores the fact that Kalanga traditional religion is monotheistic, hence talking of a 'Sun god' is false as it implies polytheism.

On the other hand, Chigwedere's reasons for distorting Kalanga and Zimbabwean history are purely political. One can argue that part of his task, as a Minister in the 'Shona' dominated ZANU (PF) government of contemporary Zimbabwe, was to rewrite the history of Zimbabwe — to *Shonalise* the history of Zimbabwe, so to speak.[95] This tendency can also be seen in the writings of Mudenge, who for all he purports to write about the history of Munhumutapa (or Monomotapa), only mentions the word Kalanga once in the whole of his book, and in this context he alludes to Kalanga as but a subsection of Shona, a view with which I disagree.[96] However, while Chigwedere and Mudenge are wrong in their oversight of Kalanga, it is also wrong for Emmanuel to overemphasise it, and treat Shona as a language that was only created in a laboratory (test-tube language). Evidence has been cited above which shows the presence of the word Shona even before Clement Doke (1930).

I also rely on Ndebele tales because in Zimbabwe, Ndebele as a political label refers to an amalgamation of numerous ethnic peoples who include Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho, Venda among

[93] Chigwedere (1998), 92.
[94] Sebina (1947), 83.
[95] Chigwedere (1998), 231 where he claims that all African people with the 'bird' totem belong to the Hungwe/Shiri clan.
[96] Mudenge (1988), 25.

others. When the founders of the Ndebele kingdom left Zululand under King Mzilikazi in 1823, they built a state of peoples whom they encountered as they fled from Shaka and the Afrikaners. These they lumped together with the indigenous people that they found already settled on the Zimbabwean plateau in the Kalanga state of Butua (1425-1830), and together they became the 'Ndebele'.[97]

The Ndebele government operated with a policy not very different from that of the Roman empire. When the Romans gained dominion over a people, they allowed the conquered to keep their culture and trends as long as they paid their taxes (tribute) and did not oppose the Roman government. The Ndebele language has become well established among people whose ancestors have/had no Ndebele DNA, but these smaller and subjugated languages also have an effect on the language of the master. Matshakayile-Ndlovu notes the importance of Kalanga folklore in the development of Ndebele folktales, indicating that the characters and songs in Ndebele folklore are Kalanga.[98] Thus, it becomes necessary for me to search those bodies of mythology that are near buKalanga for Kalanga data.

Kalanga is poorly researched; hence there are times when I make my own conclusions without recourse to other scholarly opinion because in some cases, there is just no scholarship. While this may seem presumptuous on my part, it is my belief that recording my own conclusion is better than being completely silent on a specific question. I am sure that other Kalanga scholars will be in a position to correct any errors on my part.

[97] van Waarden (2012), 26.
[98] Matshakayile-Ndlovu (1995), 4.

1.7 Greek corpora

In their written forms, Archaic Age Greek 'oral' wisdom literatures include Homer, Hesiod, the Archaic Age poets (lyric, elegiac, and iambic), all the way down to the Aesopic reminiscences of Babrius and Phaedrus, among others. Sometimes I cannot resist the temptation to cite passages from later authors like Herodotus, Aristotle and Plato. Some fables are found outside collections like those of Babrius and Phaedrus, for example fables that are not told *in extenso*, but are merely alluded to in genres like epic and lyric and even philosophy.[99] Commenting on the provenance of early Greek poetry, J.M. Edmonds observes that with the exception of the *Theognidea,* 'all the fragments of the elegiac and iambic poets but a few preserved in papyri and inscriptions have come down to us as quotations, and have no other textual history than that of the authors who quote them.'[100]

Hesiod's fable of the Hawk and Nightingale (*Op.* 202–212) is one example that depicts the affairs of human beings in animal terms. The fable makes its first literary appearance in epic, thus presenting us with a peculiarity: a supposedly pedestrian genre in an elite one. Hesiod uses 'pedestrian' literature in what purports to be an epic poem, the best genre of ancient times. Leslie Kurke's discussion on the conversation between these high and low traditions illustrates that this tendency of mingling high and low literature includes various other genres like fable in philosophy, fable in rhetoric, fable in history (Herodotus), and so on.[101]

[99] van Dijk (1997), xvi.
[100] Edmonds (1961), 'In their childhood the elegiac and iambic, like all other Greek poetry, were ritual song-dance, the one a lament and the other something in the nature of invective, at first perhaps a magic curse', 1.
[101] Kurke (2011), 48.

This example demonstrates the multifarious contexts of wisdom literature. Speaking on the provenance of fable, Kenneth Rothwell invokes a passage from Phaedrus (3 prol. 33–40) who thought that fables were invented as a means of communication for slaves:

> 'The slave, being liable to punishment for any offence, since he dared not say outright what he wished to say, projected his personal sentiments into fables and eluded censure under the guise of jesting with made-up stories. Where Aesop made a footpath, I have built a highway.'[102]

This view on the socio-political function of the fable has been criticised as untenable by Lefkowitz because,

> 'The fables themselves do not offer anything resembling a condemnation of slavery nor even a consistent praise of freedom.... In fact, numerous examples could be put forward in defence of the claim that Phaedrus' fables advocate compliance and warn against rebellion.'[103]

The solution to the problem of the socio-political use of the fable can be solved by regarding fables as rhetorical devices that are originally meant to be used 'on any occasion' rather than in any concrete social situation.[104] The point here is that fable is a pristine genre that predates any written form, thus it readily appears in numerous other forms.

The Aesopic fable has been viewed as *makrologos* (speaking at length), and it has been contrasted with the terse wisdom (*brachylogos*) of sages like Solon.[105] Kurke observes that 'At the same time, the Aesopic parody often works by exposing how such claims to high wisdom

[102] Rothwell (1995), 234, translation from B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*. Quintilian also thought the fable was attractive to 'rude and uneducated minds' (*rusticorum et imperitorum*, 5.11.19). (quoted from Rothwell (1995), 234, n.7.
[103] Lefkowitz (2014), 19.
[104] van Dijk (1997), 5.
[105] Kurke (2011), 140.

endorse and enable inequitable power relations and the oppression of the weak by the strong.'[106] From Clayton's view, it emerges that the fable was used in settings where adult male citizens of Athens would hear them, and that the fables were seen as a legitimate part of democratic political, philosophical, and artistic discourse.[107]

The proximity of the ancient Greek world to the Holy Land also encourages one to discern similarities between various narrative types from the ancient Mediterranean world. Some of the animal stories in Greek myth appeared in written form roughly at the same time as those in the Old Testament. Similarities have been identified between the works of Hesiod and the Near Eastern tradition.[108] M. L. West reiterates the similarity between *Works and Days* with the book of the Prophet Amos. Like Hesiod, Amos was also a shepherd. Yahweh took him from herding sheep and commanded him to go and prophesy to Israel.[109] Similarities have also been observed between the Song of Songs and the poetry of Theocritus.[110] Both the Biblical and Greek cultures bear the similarity of deploying animals in their respective wisdom literatures. Their proximity in the Mediterranean world makes it possible that the two wisdom traditions might have influenced one another.

There is lack of a 'control' in investigating ancient views of animals because of the lack of scientific advancement in antiquity. Aelian represents one 'scientific' model of the time, although he is sometimes a victim of his contemporary mythology. While seeking to arrive at some level of scientific observation, Aelian usually takes off against a current mythological

[106] Kurke (2011), 204.
[107] Clayton, (2008), 184.
[108] Dover (1980), 26–27. Also, Rothwell (1995), 234.
[109] West (1997), 307, citing Amos 7:14f. and Hes. *Theog.* 22–3.
[110] Hagedorn (2003), 337.

proposition about a certain animal, then delving, through inductive reasoning, to prove or disprove the myth surrounding that animal. The allegation on the gestational behaviour of hares in Greece is one example, Ael. *NA* 13.12. While the deployment of a concept like 'science' in regard to the ancient body of knowledge is plainly anachronistic, Aelian is not an entirely reliable model for ancient research on animals, given his reliance on folk-knowledge and inherited opinions and anecdotes. Aristotle's and Pliny's work (*Historia animalium, Parts of animals, Gerenation of animals,* and Book 8 of the work *Historia naturalis*) may be more reliable in terms of accuracy in observation, 'scientific' reliability and influence over zoological research that followed.

Although their works fall way out of the scope of 'Archaic Age poetry', Aelian, Pliny and Aristotle act as controls, the scientific models of their respective times. It is difficult to be precise about which period of knowledge Aelian reflects for example, but it is safe to assume that he reflects several periods. As I said, it would be plainly anachronistic to use twenty-first century scientific technology to judge the knowledge of seventh and sixth century B.C. poets about animals. The research also reveals that folklore *can* teach us something about animals, albeit it also includes unbelievable tales about centaurs, sphinxes, gorgons, mermaids and other animal types whose existence has never been scientifically proven.[111] This research also grapples with the question of why both Greek and Kalanga folklore create fabulous animals as characters in their myths. I am inclined to follow Franco's and Bettini's argument that these fabulous or

[111] In a First Year (CLS1010) class discussion at the University of Zimbabwe, one student insisted that she had seen a dead mermaid at Lake Kariba (North Zimbabwe), and on being asked to supply some form of scientific evidence (a photograph, for instance), the student was not in a position to produce the evidence. (8 November 2013, University of Zimbabwe, 9-10am lecture)

hybrid creatures are cultural constructs which make it possible for human societies to conceptualise something that would otherwise be impossible to imagine.[112]

1.8 Pitfalls of Greek data

As is the case with Kalanga data, the question of using 'written' works as representations of oral wisdom literature is interesting. While addressing the Archaic Greek aesthetic, my sources for 'Archaic Greek', for example, sometimes range from Homer through to Archilochus, Babrius and even Phaedrus. There are nuances of who the writers are: can a Roman writer be a source for Aesop? While it is true that the alphabet arrived in ancient Greece during the 8th century B.C., and that the volume of written literature began to increase in places like Athens during the Classical era, it is also true that not every Athenian could read, and that Greece was still a very oral society at this time. Greek oral literature does not begin and end with epic. Dennis Tedlock argued that we shall never develop an effective oral poetics if we begin by reading Homer because Homer appears written already.[113] This prompts me to scour all the above-mentioned literature for animals as they appear as vehicles of oral communication, that is fables, similes, and so on. In his classification of what constitutes oral literature, W. Henderson includes Greek literary genres like lyric poetry, arguing that oral Greek poetry lasts up to the fourth century BC, as Greece was still predominantly a 'song culture.'[114]

[112] Franco (2014), 163 and Bettini (2013), 141.
[113] Tedlock (1977), 507.
[114] Henderson (1988), 2.

Before going far, one needs to accept the fact that all data for the ancient Greece side of this thesis *is* written.[115] Rosalind Thomas takes the debate on the written nature of oral literature further and questions the various degrees of literacy even within the city of Athens itself. Her major argument is that Athenian literacy is an elusive study and need not be emphasized. She concludes that the term 'literacy' should indicate Athens' level of culture and civilisation.[116] Therefore, the Greeks were a largely oral society even during the classical era. Hence I shall be occasionally digressing away from the category of Archaic from time to time.

This phenomenon of the written nature of Greek orature particularly affects the study of Greek mythology, since stories found in ancient Greek sources as myths or legends often appear in modern European collections as folktales. The legend of Odysseus and Polyphemus and the folktale of the blinding of the ogre are examples at hand. Little is gained and much is lost as a result of our not having a general concept of the Greek oral story. We need not wholly give up all sensitivity to the ancient categories; we need only relate them to an all-encompassing notion of oral narrative.[117]

1.9 Rationale

The question whether myths can be taken seriously as vehicles of moral authority is a source of concern not only to ordinary people but to academics as well. Aristotle illustrates the importance of fables as a useful rhetorical strategy in politics when he narrates them as one of the two kinds of examples, that is relating things that have happened (history), and inventing them oneself

[115] Thomas (1989), 'We must argue about literacy from written documents. Yet by its very nature, only written evidence may survive. Oral tradition has only been preserved if it was once written down, and illiterates tend to leave no record,' 16–17.
[116] Thomas (1989), 20.
[117] Hansen (1983), 104.

(fable). Aristotle illustrates his example by narrating two fables; one by Stesichorus, and another by Aesop. Both fables illustrate how people lose or trade their freedom for apparent gain. Stesichorus relates how a horse became a servant of man through a poor bargain in which the horse asked man to kill a stag in revenge. The man did this, on condition that the horse submitted to his control. In the Aesopic fable (cf. Perry 427), a fox refuses to be helped from fleas when he reasons that the fleas that are biting him have already had their full drink of his blood. Aristotle notes that fables are suitable for public speaking because they are easy to invent, if a man is capable of seizing the analogy (*Rhetoric*, 1393b–1394a). Clayton summarises the importance of fable in the following way: 'Aristotle's support of the use of fables in political speechmaking again shows that such uses would have been expected and looked on favorably by the audience if they were properly used.'[118]

Animals also appear in the comic works of Aristophanes, for example *Wasps* (1446–49) and *Birds* (472–3). The importance of these instances is that animals appear at least on two planes: the first is when characters allude to Aesopic animal fables, for example *Birds* (472–3), and the second importance is that the plays are named after the animals that the choruses represent. Sifakis grapples with the origins and import of the theriomorphic choruses and concludes that all theories that try to explain this phenomenon fall short because of the scarcity of facts.[119]

According to Clayton, 'Plato accepted fables as having a useful role to play in Philosophy and did not consider them to be out of place in philosophical discussions if they were properly

[118] Clayton (2008), 186. See also, Aristotle, *Politics*, 1284a 15-17; Plato (*Phaedo* 60c).
[119] Sifakis (1971), 84.

used'.[120] Fables also appear in many of Aristotle's writings, and his wide use of fables reveals their validity as a method of illustration and instruction in a wide range of contexts.[121] Besides these positive examples, the question whether myth is authoritative can be seen in the philosophers' largely condescending views about myth. A sample definition of myth is, 'an old wives' tale.'[122] Ken Dowden asks, 'What is myth?' and answers his own question with another question: 'A lie?' He continues, 'If it is a myth, it is untrue.'[123] On the same vein, Frederick Coppleston praises the greatness of the Pre-Socratic philosophers for their difference to myth: 'They (the Pre-Socratics) tackled the question "of what is the world ultimately composed?" in a philosophic spirit and not in the spirit of weavers of mythological senses.'[124] The general thinking is that myths are *unpersuasive*, a term that suggests that myths arrive at their lessons in an unsystematic manner; a proposition that I disagree with.

If there is any form of system and consistency, how best can it be represented and tapped for further information about those bygone days? I am convinced that the answers to the nuances of Kalanga identity are embedded more in their wisdom literatures rather than anywhere else. I have chosen to focus on the animals because the study needs to be narrowed down considerably; there are many proverbs that are built on plant life and other natural phenomena which are equally didactic. However, if a proverb that does not feature an animal illustrates my point best, I do not hesitate to use it.

[120] Clayton (2008), 187.
[121] Clayton (2008), 87.
[122] Lemming (1990), 3.
[123] Dowden (1992), 3.
[124] Coppleston (1960), 95.

Some scholars however, have demonstrated a leaning towards the philosophical susceptibility of wise sayings. For example Windelband explains the rise of gnomic poetry as follows: 'Therefore it was characteristic of gnomic poetry to recommend moderation; to show how universal standards of life had been endangered by the unbridled careers of single persons….'[125]

In an earlier passage, Windelband describes didactic poetry as being made up of 'sententious reflections upon moral principles.'[126] These opposing views suggest the contestable nature of the field of myth, making it worthy to investigate this ambiguity by drawing a comparison between African and Greek *gnomai*.

The outcome of this research should add to the so far small but precious language database that will help frame the mindset of new scholarship towards a further understanding of Kalanga culture in the development of Zimbabwean, Botswana, African and indeed human thought in general. The dissertation is above all, informative (narrative). It brings the Kalanga into scholarly focus and attempts to bridge the gap between Classical mythology and its African counterpart, a development from which many a Classicist stands to benefit.

[125] Windelband (1956), 18–19.
[126] Windelband (1956), 18.

CHAPTER TWO

Methods and Methodologies.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets discusses the methods, methodologies and theoretical frameworks used in the thesis. It is in this chapter that I also do a review of the literature. The comparison of African data with European information involves a lot of aspects on human and animal life, as such, the study defies any monolithic approach.

2.2 Methods

The research is largely desktop oriented, but it is also informed by interviews, both group and individual, telephonic and virtual. I am indebted to my uncle Manny, with whom we drove to Manyangwa shrine in Plumtree and spent a day participating in the events (largely sitting, observing, asking questions and taking notes), holding interviews in August 2008. I am also indebted to Professor Jeffrey Wills and Andrea Kozlov who took an interest and visited my rural home at Diba, in Plumtree with me (April 2012). Wills assisted in framing the questions while Kozlov operated the video camera. The result of this is a couple of hours recorded interviews which I also possess and refer to throughout the thesis. These interviews were done over a couple of days. Some of the participants are now deceased, but we have their voices and pictures. Olivia Nthoi and Professor Otukile Phibion shared their theses with me while I was at the University of Botswana on a data collection trip.

I did some of my interviews in places where the lingua franca is Ndebele (Diba), and again at a place where everyday language is *still* Kalanga (Tjehanga village). This was a deliberate move to demonstrate the effects of bilingualism on Kalanga, for example cases where proverbs are translated directly from Ndebele to Kalanga. Also, the area is home to the researcher, thereby allowing regular access to data over a stretch of years. The effects of bilingualism were seen mostly at Diba (and Tjankwa) where interviewees who ran out of Kalanga words frequently resorted to Ndebele, and even English. While one may argue that this tendency corrupts the authenticity of Kalanga, it is also true that such an approach adds another dimension of the realities that describe Kalanga language today, namely that most, if not all Kalanga people are at least bilingual. I also got a chance to read the Lilima dialect of Kalanga which is used in Botswana, and those parts of Zimbabwe that are closest to the Botswana border. It should be noted that all publications from Mukani Action Campaign and from the University of Botswana library are in this dialect. As the nature and size of my corpora shows, this research defies any monolithic approach, preferring rather to use a multiplicity of approaches which are discussed in the next section.

2.3 Methodologies

Broadly speaking, the major research methodology is comparative literature where I compare the two bodies of Archaic Greek and Kalanga oral wisdom literatures. Undertaking a comparative study is a difficult task because there is a danger that one might compare and contrast virtually everything and anything between two bodies of literature. To bridge this gap, I narrow my choices to categories of what to compare to animals. Having settled on looking at animals, I then begin to place them according to themes, and they fit into four categories that are the topics of

my chapters. The first classification is that animals provide teaching about cleverness and stupidity of human beings. In the second classification, I look at the way animals are used as symbols of political power, while I look at the deployment of animals in the teaching of financial conduct in chapter five. Chapter six observes the importance of animals in the erotic didactics of the two cultures. These are not the only categories into which animals fall, but have been used here for the sake of progress, and also because most fables and proverbs are usually designed to educate along these lines. My categorisations arguably represent some of the most important aspects in the hierarchy of human needs, that is power, money and sex — and the wisdom (cleverness) in the management of all these needs.

This project is a study of narrative and discursive similarities, and does not seek to project any Kalanga-ness onto Greek myth, as there is no such thing; but it *does* investigate the possibility of Greek lore in the Kalanga corpus as it stands today. Some theories have been advanced surrounding the claim that the Lemba group of Kalanga people have Semitic blood and cultural tendencies. Emmanuel falls for this misleading line of thought when he says,

> 'It is therefore very likely that in the early centuries of the Christian era, a Bantu people speaking the iKalanga language, which is generally agreed to be the oldest Bantu language spoken south of the Zambezi, intermarried with a people of Jewish/Semitic origin who first came as traders and miners, in the process producing the Bantu-Semitic Bukalanga race', [1]

Another person who falls for this trap is the nineteenth century German explorer Karl Mauch who describes the Kalanga in the following terms: 'The narrow, somewhat aquiline nose and the

[1] Emmanuel (2012), 215.

not excessively thick lips in many a physiognomy do not make them appear ugly. This may point to Arab, Malay or Israelite connections in olden days,'[2]

The background for this erroneous judgement was set up by Tome Lopes, a companion of Vasco da Gama on his 1502 voyage to India. Lopes was impressed by the stone structures of Great Zimbabwe, and convinced himself that they could not be the product of African people. Lopes believed that he had just discovered the lost city of Ophir.[3] This idea also had an impact on John Milton (1608–1674), and the poet readily associated Monomotapa with Ophir (*Paradise Lost*, 11.399–401). As such, the explorer had a very clear agenda and was also convinced he had found the lost Ophir. Assigning a Semitic physiognomy to the Kalanga bridges this gap quite considerably. I cannot determine to what extent the Kalanga have such traces, although scientific evidence (DNA tests) has been put forward to make this suggestion a possibility for some sections of Kalanga like the Lemba.[4]

As such, I draw from Richard Werbner's anthropological approach to justify my comparison of Greek heroic poetry with the Kalanga 'heroic' narratives. Werbner describes his accounts of the Kalanga people in Lupondo's family as belonging to the genre of, '...heroic narrative. It is that kind of self-account in which the subject as hero actively and consciously finds his way past obstacles despite the efforts of his antagonists to defeat him.'[5]

[2] Mauch (1969), 70.
[3] For biblical appearances of Ophir, see I Kings 9:28, Job 22:24 and Psalms 45:9.
[4] Emmanuel (2012), Thomas et al. (2000), 674.
[5] Werbner (1991), 146.

Data used in this study is scattered across many genres that include epic and lyric poetry. This latitude in genre from Greek literature is complemented on the Kalanga side by a wide choice of praise poetry, folktale, proverbs, riddles, jokes, songs and totems, and other forms of wisdom literature. I also employ the heuristic method of Interpretative Criticism, where I basically reason out the way the behaviour of an animal in real life has influenced its deployment in folklore. However, it is invariably the case as well that the way we interpret the behaviour of an animal in real life is influenced by our pre-existing ideas of what we expect that animal to be like. In other words, if a person is brought up with stoires about clever foxes, they are likely to interpret its real life behaviour as clever. There is probably no way to overcome this problem, but it is a problem.

Comparatively, I approach Kalanga literature alongside other Zimbabwean and southern African oral literatures that include the Ndebele, Shona and Zulu to give the research a more integrated approach that places Kalanga within a larger geo-political context. Examples from other cultures and mythologies like the Asian and native American are used to ask questions on the similarity of motifs and structure, among other indices. I ask basic questions that go with the Practical Criticism of poetry: Are animals poetic? Are they used as mnemonic devices (*aides- memoire*)? Can Greek epic and lyric be seriously compared to the Kalanga folktale or praise songs? With what results?

To add on, I also employ other methods besides the broad comparative literary approach. This is due to the diversity of the themes into which the four chapters fall. Marxist literary criticism will be the preferred theroretical paradigm as this thesis looks at the way animals may illustrate issues such as class, politics and so on. Dorson reminisces on the success of comparative folklorists

insofar as they managed to silence Darwin, but could not snuff out the works of Marx and Freud, 'who read the class struggle and the suppressed libido into the manifestations of folklore.'[6] Most fables are a comment on the relationship between the cheat and the cheated, the ruler and the ruled, employer and employee, as well as husband and wife, and the chapters of this thesis address these topics in that sequence. These topics will be interpreted using various Marxist approaches throughout the thesis.

Scientific approaches like archaeological evidence act as a benchmark for challenging or confirming authority. Reference to archaeological findings from both bodies of literature can help to give a sort of 'date' to folklore, for example. Artefacts like the Mapungubwe Rhino, the Zimbabwe-type ruins and Khoisan rock paintings are some of the evidence treated on the Kalanga side, while motifs like the lion hunt on Archaic Age Greek vases help in creating a visual picture of human feeling towards animals.[7] These artefacts can be dated, and this should help in making judgments about the provenance of Kalanga oral traditions. Science can help in the understanding of oral traditions.

Another approach used is the Conversational Method which involves interview, discussion and dialogue.[8] The conversational method, which entails asking Kalanga sages for their interpretation of proverbs, includes asking for aesthetic and philosophical perceptions of the world as a means of a complete transformation of our relationship to the world: we have to perceive it for itself, and no longer for ourselves.[9] In line with this type of analysis, Olusegun Oladipo talks of the

[6] Dorson (1963), 93.
[7] Markoe (1989), and other artefacts that feature animals like Sphinx, Sirens.
[8] Azenabor (2009), 73.
[9] Haddot (1997), 254.

method of 'Relevance' (2002), and Odera Oruka (1990) discusses 'Philosophic Sagacity' as a reflective evaluation of thought by an individual African elder who is a repository of wisdom, knowledge and rigorous thinking.[10]

Inversely, while Sage Philosophy focuses on one elder, I did not always limit myself to one informant. Rather, I relied on group interviews as their debates helped in ironing out issues. At times I had to conduct interviews with individual informants, especially when I had a pressing a question but there was no possibility to convene a group. Messrs. Pax Nkomo and Phineas Moyo were always available to hold discussions with me both face-to-face, and over the phone. The proponents of the Conversational Method have contended that theirs is the Socratic method. Socrates had, like a midwife, helped the sages to 'give birth' to their otherwise implicit ideas by playing the role of philosophical provocateur, thereby helping the sages and himself to jointly arrive at a new philosophical observation.[11] In this scenario, the researcher asked interlocutors pointed questions, prodding them to ponder on them until an agreement was reached. Sample questions asked include, why the fox is used to represent cunning in Kalanga lore, or whether animals think. The weakness of Philosophic Sagacity is that some sages can be patronising, as was the case in some instances. I try to be as critical of these and all my other sources as best as I can. For example, where an interlocutor shared a view that I disagreed with, I still recorded the view and criticised it, rather than ignoring it altogether.

The contestableness of the authority of art can be seen in Plato's move to exclude representative art (Homer, Hesiod and the tragedians) from his ideal city because it 'is an inferior child born to

[10] As cited in Azenabor (2009), 72.
[11] Azenabor (2009), 81.

inferior parents' (*Republic* 10. 603b). This position can be argued to suffer a major blow when the Philosopher turns against his own teaching and engages in mythological discourse as a way of giving alternative expression to the rigorous dialectical method. In the *Republic* (375E– 376) Plato likens the guardians of the ideal state to dogs, which are comparable to true lovers of wisdom since they can distinguish between unknown persons and acquaintances.[12] This contradiction in Plato's attitude concerning poets amounts to the contestable state of the oeuvre of mythology in classical Athens. Plato's engagement with Hesiod, for example, helps to provide a didactic background against which the philosopher's works would inevitably be read.[13] Speaking of Plato's recourse to oral literature, Lev Kenaan argues that Plato not only recalls Hesiodic passages and motifs at important moments in the *Symposium*, but also founds his portrayal of Socrates on Pandora.[14] The quote from Kenaan recalls to mind that Socrates has also been compared to Aesop on the same grounds — their outward appearance hides their inner wisdom/knowledge. Speaking of this intertextuality between Plato and Hesiod, Kenaan says:

> 'As human embodiments of Eros, Pandora and Socrates share a similar structure: their form of selfhood rests on a thoroughgoing tension between appearance and being. Both Pandora and Socrates challenge their beholders to grapple with their enigmatic "being" and look for truth behind their appearances.'[15]

This illustrates the importance of fable to Greek philosophers like Plato. For this thesis, it means one can subject Kalanga wisdom literatures to philosophical treatment.

[12] Lonsdale (1979), 150.
[13] Boys-Stones and Haubold (2010), 1–3. Kurke (2011), 48.
[14] Kenaan (2010), 158.
[15] Kenaan (2010), 174.

The Historical-Geographic or Finnish method is used occasionally to check for similarities in oral literature, for example testing a possibility for the spread of Aesopic fables into African oral literatures due to the influence of Christianity and Western education; or accounting for the presence of Kalanga songs in Ndebele folktales. The method was designed to thwart rash generalizations about the origin and meaning of folktales, through a thorough and unprecedented examination of each individual tale. I reject blanket theories like polygenesis or independent invention of tales, dream origins, ritual origins, and origins based in observation of heavenly phenomena, or in the savage mentality, or as the expression of repressed infantile fantasies.[16] My rejection of these theories is based on that I believe that human perspectives on animals are largely influenced by the interaction between people and animals in the real world as well as cultural sanctioning. Those who do not interact with animals in real life are taught on what to expect from particular animals by those people who have interacted with the animals in real life.

Feminist literary criticism helps in the study of erotic didactics (Chapter Six). This approach helps discuss views about the behaviour expected of women by men, and of men by women. Schaps indicates that Feminist literary criticism proposes a new framework for rereading literature in view of the relationship between the sexes, '. . . in particular with a view to questions of power and its exercise within the family and without.'[17]

Other approaches used in the thesis include Afrocentric approaches like *ubuntu* (humaneness) which are ideal in processing African data. The philosophy of *ubuntu*, propounds communality/ pluralism among rural African communities. Desmond Tutu defines *ubuntu* as follows:

[16] Dorson (1963), 94.
[17] Schaps (2011), 125.

> 'A person with *Ubuntu* is open and available to others, affirming others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed.'[18]

Against this backdrop, I also test Kalanga data against the theory or worldview of *ubuntu*. The philosophy of *ubuntu* opposes itself to Western normative theories like virtue theories, Kantian deontology and teleology, as well as utilitarianism. These Western theories have become universalised because of the popularity of Western philosophy. Mangena argues against a holistic use of these Western theories on African material saying they emphasise on reason and individualism.[19] For Mangena, the theory and worldview of *ubuntu* is appropriate for handling African data because individualism does not sit well with most African societies, '...as these locate the morality of actions within a particular group of persons.'[20] The present thesis also employs this dialogical approach of *ubuntu*,

This also leads to the Afrocentrism versus Eurocentrism debate. It is important to note that the 'Black-is-Beautiful' theory of Afrocentricity does not originate in Africa, but in the Americas, where black people congregated along this view as a way of protecting themselves from perceived white supremacist ideology. The principles of Afrocentricity are basically linked to the American slave trade and the colonisation of Africa by Europe. They are summarised by Gwekwerere in the following manner:

> 'As a theory and a movement, Afrocentricity is all about re-membering [sic] the dis-membered [sic], re-connecting the dis-connected, re-orienting the disoriented, and emancipating

[18] Tutu (1999), 35.
[19] Mangena (2012b), 1–2.
[20] Mangena (2012b), 7.

> the enslaved. It sets itself apart because of its overarching concern with cultivating an environment conducive to the unfettered celebration of life. Afrocentricity seeks the rescue and restoration of African people as free and self-moving human beings. It concerns itself with the realization of African peoples' sanity, security, and survival.'[21]

For Molefi Asante, 'Afrocentricity' means, literally, '...placing African ideals at the centre of any analysis that involves African culture and behaviour'.[22] This theory basically argues against subjecting African data to Eurocentric theories.[23]

The discourse pits itself against the likes of Mary Lefkowitz, who deny Africans any place in the history of the development of ideas. Gwekwerere says of Lefkowitz:

> 'A close reading of her work, however, reveals that Leftkowitz's effort is an exercise in the defence of White supremacist ideology. Leftkowitz's intellectual agitation emanates from her inability to make peace with the fact that Europeans are indeed latecomers to civilization.' [24]

Clearly, these are interesting and tempting ideas to grapple with, but they will not be dealt with in this thesis. While I am aware of the debates and pervading significance of racial and ethnic prejudice, I do not overemphasize it in this thesis. There are a lot of *–isms* that apply to Kalanga, for instance racism, tribalism, and to focus on these would divert the researcher from *conversio in animalia*. The appearance of animals in oral literature is one trait that is common to humanity, and should unite people, rather than divide them, as the debates on Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism seem to be doing.

[21] Gwekwerere (2010), 118.
[22] Asante (1998), 2.
[23] Asante (1998), 5.
[24] Gwekwerere (2010), 114.

2.4 Literature Review

I cannot, and will not, do an exhaustive literature review that looks at both literatures, but I will look at those few authors who attempt some work of comparative study of African and Greek cultural effects. Comparative studies between Ancient Greece and Africa have produced interesting results. Michael Lambert has done a comparison of women's madness among the Zulu's *amaNdiki* and Euripides' *Bacchae* and concluded that there are similarities between the ecstatic Zulu women and the Theban women. Both sets of women go around terrorizing their neighbourhoods until their spirits are pacified.[25] Sandra Blakely's comparison of Ancient Greek and African metallurgy and the rituals surrounding the smith have revealed numerous parallels 'which have inspired anthropologists and classicists of an earlier era to suggest that the Greek and African symbolic systems were essentially comparable.'[26] These studies arise after individual authors perceive similarities between two disparate cultures.

This study differs from reception studies where authors have traced classical allusion in modern Zimbabwean literature. In this case, Zimbabwean artists like Dambudzo Marechera and Moyo consciously resort to using classical imagery derived from texts they have read.[27] An interesting set of questions on the unconscious reception of Greek ideas by current Kalanga authors who have received western education arises when one takes note of the similarities between some Greek and Kalanga storylines, giving rise to a legitimate question: to what extent is written Kalanga literature influenced by western or Greek literature? Most of my sources are people who have received some level of education.

[25] Lambert (2009), 19–35.
[26] Blakely (2006), 4.
[27] Moyo (2013), 44–55, and Moyo in Nyambi & Mangena (2012), where I compare, in English, Venus' goads to love with a farmer driving a tarrying old cow, 68.

Richard Whitaker justifies the comparison of Greece with southern Africa by noting similarities in the payment of the bride-price by the groom. In Homeric and traditional Zulu and Xhosa societies men use cattle to pay bride price.[28] This therefore encourages the reader of Whitaker's *Iliad* and the author of this thesis that there are indeed some things (like paying bride price) that are common to mankind, regardless of place or time. This research, like Whitaker's translation, does not seek to conflate the Greek with the Kalanga.[29] Rather, the research contrasts the two bodies of oral literature. To arrive at this contrast, the research looks at the use of animals in oral literature as one such mark that unites human thought. Such a widerange of topics therefore defies any single approach, except for that of the broadly named 'comparative literature.' David Schaps also indicates the importance of this method even in the reconstruction of the ancient languages themselves. He argues that the comparative method enables the description of historical linguistics, '…enabling us to reconstruct, within limits, the conceptual world of vanished societies in a way that study of their material remains could never really achieve.' [30]

Taking a look at early 20th century scholarship, Gilbert Murray suggested the comparison of recent African traditions with the ancient Greek. He argued that the differences lie in the accident of our own remoteness: 'For us, the comparison of ancient and modern is largely a comparison of something half seen at a distance with something which we know intimately.'[31] Going by this analogy, Kalanga oral literature, owing to its poor state of preservation, is 'half-seen at a distance' while its Greek counterpart is intimately known in the history of the development of ideas.

[28] Whitaker (2012), 58.
[29] Ibid. Whitaker strengthens his justification by noting the not so well received description of Zulu warriors as Greeks in J.M. Coetzee's *Elizabeth Costello* (2003).
[30] Schaps (2011), 89.
[31] Murray (1924), 7.

In addition, the construction of epithets in the Greek epic is testimony to an intimate association between man and animals. Lonsdale remarks that epithets for regions and individuals, such as Euboea, 'rich in flocks' serve to illustrate the tendency by the Greeks to see one façade of their national identity in animal terms.'[32] Similarly, there are Kalanga places whose names show connections with animals. Kalanga places like Ntunungwe (Leopard Rock), Mbila (Dassie) show this tendency of the Kalanga to view themselves in animal terms as well. Also of note is the relationship of Kalanga with the Leopard's Kopje Tradition, which preceded the Zimbabwe culture. This relationship makes for excellent interpretation of primary data especially when one looks at how oral traditions interpret the etymology of Ntunungwe.[33]

Lonsdale also looks at the attitudes of the ancient Greeks towards their animals and cites Polyphemus' relationship with the old ram (*Od.* 9.447–57) as pointing to an important positive aspect of the man-animal relationship: reciprocity.[34] The same reciprocal relationship can be seen in Hesiod's advice: καὶ κύνα καρχαρόδοντα κομεῖν, μὴ φείδεο σίτου,/ μή ποτέ σ' ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ χρήμαθ' ἕληται, 'And look after the dog with jagged teeth, do not grudge him his food, lest the day sleeper may take your stuff,' (*Op.*604–5). Hence a study of this reciprocity can still be observed inter-culturally.

Paul Radin looked at the use of aphorisms and proverbs that are current among 'all primitive peoples' and concluded that these figures of speech aimed at objectivity in the analysis and evaluation of character.[35] Aphorisms do not only guide moral behaviour of human beings, but

[32] Lonsdale (1979), 148.
[33] van Waarden (2012).
[34] Lonsdale (1979), 149.
[35] Radin (1927), 152.

they also treat the audience to irony and sarcasm.[36] Speaking about early poetry, Milman Parry's studies on oral verse- making in preliterate societies identified language, diction and style as the cornerstones of the oral epic technique. Parry also observed that oral literature is a way of conserving the three cornerstones mentioned above.[37] I will be guided by Parry in the quest for the understanding and preservation of Kalanga language, style and culture. The research looks at the 'artificial element' in oral poetry, which was mentioned by Parry and I am also going to interrogate in this study, as there are other aphorisms that do not necessarily depend on nature but incorporate other man-made phenomena in both ancient Greek and Kalanga oral literatures.

The debates on the oral nature of the Greek epic were taken up by A.B. Lord who also used the comparative analytical approach to contrast the Greek epic with its South Slavic counterpart. Lord emphasised that the essence of the oral technique lies in theme and formula, which are both recurrent and conventional.[38] I adopt this comparative approach to try and establish the oral technique of Kalanga *gnomai*.

This thesis also interrogates further readings on literature that relies on symbols based on animals, for example extended Homeric similes, (*Iliad* 15.263–8) where Hector, returning to battle, is likened to a well-fed horse, and *Iliad* 11 where Ajax, retreating from battle, is compared to a lazy donkey. There are a good number of similes on Diomedes that invoke the image of a lion on the rampage to illustrate his destructive nature. These are discussed in chapter 3. Further readings include Alcman's *Partheneion* which compares women to race horses. Speaking of the

[36] Radin (1927), 152–3.
[37] Parry (1932), 9.
[38] Lord (1938), 440.

deployment of equines as poetic images, Justina Gregory concludes that the characteristics that are given to animals do not correspond to the temperaments of actual mules, horses or donkeys, but are projections of human attitudes towards labour.[39] Other works of interest in this research include Fraser, (2011), and Canevaro (2013), who looks at gender relations in Hesiod. Wolkow's curiously-titled article pursues the use of the dog metaphor in the description of Pandora.[40] Sandra Blakely explores superficial similarities and parallels of theme and narrative, assemblage and juxtaposition in ancient Greek myth and sub-Saharan Africa with a special reference to metallurgy. Blakely suggests methodologies and pitfalls in the comparative analysis of Ancient Greek societies with recent Africa and cautions against a purely structural approach and urges consideration of indigenous contexts and functions of myth in both societies.[41] She also raises questions on the authenticity of archival sources like Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA), on which I depend, arguing that most of the data comes from missionary writers and Native Commissioners who 'have a negative attitude towards African myth.'[42] This research tries to resolve these points of friction by having a 'positive' attitude towards Kalanga wisdom literatures. Blakely also suggests the archaeological route, and the present researcher is lucky to have close physical access to places like Luswingo, Great Zimbabwe, Manyangwa, and artefacts like the alleged *Ark of the Covenant of the Lord* which will help in establishing the interface between iconography and myth, religion and myth, and so on.

Recent research has proven the importance of Kalanga legendary history in the religious, social and political spheres of many southern African ethnic groups. On a similar note, George Fortune

[39] Gregory (2007), 208.
[40] Wolkow (2007), 247–262. Also, Franco (2014).
[41] Blakely (2006), 10.
[42] Blakely (2006), 10.

has pointed out that Kalanga language seems to have been the predominant language in the South-West of Zimbabwe, and must also date back to c. 900 AD.[43] A.G. Schutte looks at the use of Kalanga traditional religion (especially shrines like Njelele, Manyangwa, among others) in legitimating the political authority of the conquerors of the Kalanga, that is the Rozvi and subsequently, the Ndebele.[44] Schutte locates the decline in the importance of Kalanga shrines and culture to the advent of responsible government in 1923, and to the advent of Zionist Christian religion. This idea is taken up by a Dutch scholar, Wim van Binsbergen who looks at the mediumistic *sangoma* cult lodges in Francistown, Botswana. Both Zionist Christian churches and the sangoma cult aim at the treatment of social and psychosomatic complaints of patients in a similar way, although the Christian idiom emphasises personal rapture vis-à-vis the rural-based kin group which enforces social order through the ancestors.[45] The point, according to van Binsbergen, is that the ancestral beings did not have any empirical existence, and hence are questionable. The inconsistency of his statement comes out when it is used face to face with Christianity, whose empirical evidence is also subject to debate. The result of this attack on traditional religion is a perceived loss of identity among the Kalanga. A case in point is a young Kalanga mother, Jane, whom van Binsbergen met at Nata (north eastern Botswana). There are two things about her which immediately attract one's attention: the first is that although her father is a priest of Mwali, she herself does not believe in the traditional religion of her people. The second point is that she is aware of her identity crisis as is exemplified by a poster in her room which reads 'ME IS ALL I CAN BE.'[46] The example I have just cited illustrates the

[43] Fortune (1973), 3.
[44] Schutte (1978), 110 and 112.
[45] van Binsbergen (1991), 309.
[46] van Binsbergen (1991), 325.

idiosyncrasies that surround Kalanga identity today. The research will try to trace the provenance of Kalanga as a way of suggesting answers to some of the questions involving Kalanga.

Going back to the significance of animals in wisdom literatures, I will draw from John Mbiti takes a closer look at the question of nature. He looks at the significance of natural phenomena for various people, for example he lists a number of people (like the Fajulu, Nuer and Madi) along the Nile valley who blame the hyena for having cut off the cow-skin rope which once joined the earth to heaven, thus causing a separation between the two worlds.[47] Besides asking aetiological questions like the separation of earth and sky which also appears in Hesiod (*Theog.* 176–210), the present research asks questions like: 'why the hyena?' Is it the strong teeth/jaws and associated evil deeds like witchcraft that have been accorded to in myth? Mbiti also seems to mention the Kalanga under the Shona, when he mentions that the Shona think of God as residing in the Matopo hills (Njelele).[48]

Lastly, the works of Catrina van Waarden employ 'ethno-archaeological approaches' in the excavation of Kalanga territory in North Eastern Botswana. This work is a product of a lifetime's research and provides tangible material evidence for the Kalanga culture in the state of Butua. The text explores the history of baKalanga all the way to the present day.[49] Van Waarden also published her findings from excavations at Matanga, a cattle outpost belonging to the pre-colonial era (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D.).[50] Archaeological evidence helps to

[47] Mbiti (1969), 50–51. Also, Bourdillon (1990), where he discusses the hierarchy of religious leadership, indicating that one of the priesthoods was called the 'man of the cattle', a reputation he gained through his ability to cure cattle of their diseases, 67.
[48] Mbiti (1969), 55.
[49] van Waarden (2012).
[50] van Waarden (1987), 108, and (2012).

authenticate the oral data. It is fortunate when myths can be verified through some scientific method like archaeology. Olivia Nthoi's dissertation submitted to the Archaeology unit at the University of Botswana also illustrates the cultural/ intangible heritage of Kalanga culture.[51]

2.5 Analysis of Data

The method of analysis of data is largely qualitative, since it is language, context and style of selected *gnomai* which this research is concerned with. It is also quantitative because I check the frequency of a particular animal's deployment in myth. Conclusions on types of animal character are arrived at after comparison of recurrent narrative structures and characters in the two oral literatures. Focus is on the symbolic and aesthetic significance that causes particular images to be drawn out at given moments.[52] Examples from other oral literatures which shed light on the Greek and Kalanga are used as I attempt to trace the movement of animal tales around the world. There is need to account for new myths,[53] or 'outside myths.'

What are the poetics of the Kalanga fable to make it a source of moral authority? Selected dictionary definitions of authority include: 'the power or right to control, judge, or prohibit the actions of others'; 'evidence or testimony'. The adjective *authoritative* means 'recognized or accepted as being true or reliable.'[54] Such analyses are employed especially where I handle questions on environmental ethics. Are animals worthy of moral status?

[51] Nthoi (2008).
[52] Clarke (1995), 139.
[53] For example Kalanga stories that feature donkeys and horses, because these are a relatively late arrival in Southern Africa (1656).
[54] *Collins Paperback Dictionary* (s.v. 'authoritative & authority').

The pairing of Greek and Kalanga data presents a major problem: namely that of comparing dissimilar genres, like the fable and the proverbs. To illustrate the extent of this dissimilarity, Archer Taylor says, 'A didactic and metaphorical text in a single sentence is naturally more difficult to read and interpret than a narrative text.'[55] As such, it may seem presumptuous to draw conclusions by comparing a terse saying like a proverb, with the findings from a folktale of fable. On the other hand however, the studies of Albert Lord have revealed the variety of oral literature, arguing that it includes a number of genres like stories, songs, riddles, proverbs and, *in Africa*[56] performance of praise songs. Lord's argument to view didactic as one variety of oral literature is acceptable especially when he points out that these genres are not water-tight compartments and may overlap. The presence of proverbs and riddles in songs, or of song in fable are examples.[57] For the sake of this research therefore, instead of focusing on questions of genre, I pay more attention to the motif index of folk literature.[58] I define a motif as the 'river' that carries a story, for example, in both Greek and Kalanga there are stories of animals which overeat and get stuck by their midriffs. In this case, being stuck by the midriff after overeating is a recurring motif.

I work on the hypothesis that the character of an animal is didactic and largely informed by people's observation (and presumptions) of the particular animal's behaviour outside the myth, that is, the way it conducts itself in its real life and natural habitat. This research includes an assessment of the way a particular animal acts or reacts when it comes into contact with people and with other animals in its natural habitat. I am also aware that the deployment of an animal in

[55] Taylor (1971–73), 327.
[56] My emphasis.
[57] Lord (1991), 22.
[58] Taylor (1971–73), 327.

myth is also influenced by our pre-existing notions of a particular animal's behaviour, as indicated above. I also ask questions on the importance of food in the depiction of animals. I interact with real Kalanga people and get to know their impression of certain animals (sociolinguistics). This helps me to speculate on ancient Greek perceptions on animals. Therefore, these current Kalanga case-studies, or conversations, also help to open up possible insights into how Archaic Age Greek poets deployed animals in wisdom literatures, since we can no longer interview the ancient Greek poets. Kalanga, being an antique African tradition, should also give further insights to early Africa.[59]

2.6 Research Design

The research will be divided into four main chapters (excluding the first two). Chapter three theorizes on the appearance of various animals playing roles of cheating and/or being cheated. This chapter also looks at the cultural and geographic backgrounds in ancient Greece and recent to contemporary Kalanga societies. Chapter four looks at those aphorisms that use animals and have a potential of informing us about the political setups of the two societies. The conception of power as political, and as physical force (κράτος), is also critiqued in this chapter. Chapter five examines the economic relationship between human beings and animals, asking roughly the same questions as those for the third chapter and fourth chapters. Chapter six discusses the role played by animals in human situations of love and sexuality, and Chapter seven is a round-up and synthesis of the arguments raised in the thesis.

[59] See Whitaker (2012) for restrictions which might apply in comparing two very separate cultures.

Chapter Three:

Cleverness and stupidity in the animal world.

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the corpus that has been identified above is scrutinized for instances of cheating. Views of people that I have interviewed (on Kalanga) are also criticized. In fables and folktales, animals like the canids feature playing similar roles in the processes of trickery, with foxes almost always appearing as clever. I ask pseudo-scientific questions on whether there are any physical or behavioural patterns behind the deployment of particular animals in particular contexts. I also consider the role of cultural sanctioning in the development of animal characters.

The question of how oral wisdom narratives present human character in animal terms is now pursued through a study of the treatment of the human characteristics of cleverness and stupidity. Proverbs, parables, fables, folktales, praise songs and other types of oral wisdom literature sometimes depict the qualities of cleverness and stupidity through animals. Although the narrative situations feature animals, their priority is to address human concerns. Thus, oral narratives assign moral status to animals as a way of addressing these human concerns. This is problematic because we are not sure whether non-human animals can be moral or immoral, clever or even stupid. The African philosopher Mangena argues that animals are worthy of moral

consideration because although they do not use reason, they are still a creation of nature (State of Creation), together with human beings.[1]

In this chapter I ask questions on the recurring world-views about a few representative animals that feature in narratives of trickery. I do not study all animals that appear in what I term 'narratives of intrigue' in the two wisdom traditions, but dwell on those animals whose very names have become synonymous with the qualities of cleverness or stupidity. In both Kalanga and ancient Greek mythologies, cunning people, for example, are represented by the fox, jackal (only in Kalanga literature) or hare as allegories of their characters, while those who are not so clever are usually described in terms of those animals that appear to play the role of losers in the processes of intrigue, for example sheep and goats. This tendency raises the question whether the position of an animal in the food chain (as well as its feeding pattern) contributes to its role in narratives of trickery. Also of possible relevance is the way an animal is caught (killed) by other animals and people for food, and the way it defends itself.

In the fables of Aesop, some human fortunes are depicted through scavengers like foxes and crows, which are pitted against one another in rapacious struggles for survival, for example Phaed. (1.13). Does their depiction emanate from the feeding patterns and general conduct of these animals in real life? Or is it just an arbitrary allocation of roles to animals without much attention paid to the animal's actual behaviour.

[1] Mangena (2012a), 64, who as a scholar is making a declaration relevant to an African perspective.

3.2 Critical Approaches

In this chapter, I employ Marxist literary criticism because it helps in the understanding of animal roles with regards to social status or class of human beings. Marxism contends that art, including literature, is determined by the economic base.[2] Aesopic fables have been read as a protest by the poor against the rich and powerful, especially. However, Leslie Kurke's investigations on the background of the Aesopic fable reveal that the *Vita G*, a fictional biography of Aesop, abounds in *ekphraseis* and other literary embellishments that indicate a superior education on the part of the author.[3] Also, the references to fables by authors like Plato and Aristotle are further evidence for their knowledge by people of superior education. On the other hand, Herodotus (*Hist.* 2.134) acknowledges Aesop as the slave of a Samian master who was impiously executed by the Delphians. The Aesopic fables closely correspond to, and even comment on, the earlier fables by virtue of animal protagonists (and the individuals for whom they act as ciphers), structure, and the issues that they foreground.[4] This evidence contradicts the traditional assumption that fables were solely for the lowly and uneducated. [5]

Rothwell has studied the socio-politics of Aesop's fables in Aristophanes' *Wasps* and observes that 'Philocleon invokes Aesop and tells fables more often than does any other character in Aristophanic comedy — more often, in fact, than does any character in ancient literature.'[6] He also indicates the importance of the leopard in 'fable-like' stories in the Congo, noting that the leopard is associated with political chiefs in society; in these stories the leopard is strong but

[2] Lisman (1988), 74.
[3] Kurke (2011), 6.
[4] Steiner (2012), 3.
[5] Kurke (2011), 156. '... Aesop represents (even embodies) the fable in its purest form, but that low genre must be handled with care — diluted or abstracted — when it enters more respectable genres of speaking.'
[6] Rothwell (1995), 231.

often tricked.[7] Speaking of the 'authorship' of fables, Quintilian thought the fable was attractive to the 'rude and uneducated minds' (*rusticorum et imperitorum* 5. 11.19).

The current research tests the applicability of this and other such claims regarding Kalanga aphorisms as well. Rothwell's view that fables belong to the poor is also taken up by Gregory who looks at the literary portrayal of the donkey vis-à-vis other equines like the horse and the mule in ancient Greek poetry. Gregory observes that the treatment of the donkey is rare and generally derogatory: 'High literature, proverbs and fables alike tend to characterize donkeys, in so far as they mention them at all, as lazy, obstinate, lascivious, greedy and stupid.'[8] This negative portrayal, as Gregory concludes, reflects Archaic Greek attitudes toward class and gender, poverty and labour. Hence, I shall also be investigating the 'authorship' of orature through a study of these class trends in a Marxist way.

3.3 Intrigue in the animal world.

Intrigue denotes beguilement or deception; hence this chapter is a study of instances of secret plotting, trickery or deception, featuring animals. In asking general questions about animal behaviour in narratives, one investigates whether there are any recurrent narrative structures, contents, contexts and symbols that emerge for a given animal in proverbs, fables and folktales that depicts cheating?[9] Like most southern African bodies of folklore, Kalanga depicts the hare as the greatest trickster.

[7] Rothwell (1995), 237–8.
[8] Gregory (2007), 193.
[9] Lonsdale (1979), 147, and Russo (1983), 121.

Classicists and non-Classicists alike are familiar with animal trickster tales from the fables of Aesop, Apuleius, and all the way down to La-Fontaine, but Kalanga animal trickster tales are unknown to all but a few specialists in southern African folklore and those Kalanga people who still use them in their conversations. These animals are cultural constructions, and as such tend to be consistent in their behavior because they are denied individuality, even though animals behaviorists observe that individuals within a species display different behaviours and can be regarded as 'individuals' in this sense. Folk treatments of animal species tend to establish typologies based on conceptual patterns such as:

1) human being vs. animals (for example humans possess speech whereas all other species, taken as a homogeneous group, do not);

2) human being as among other species (e.g. the fable about the stupid horse who ends up enslaved by man: humans dominant over horses);

3) one human type as homologous to one animal species (for example the fox as the trickster, the wolf as the arrogant aristocrat);

4) how it happened that a species came into existence (etiological tales).

Despite the fact that cultural patterns often produce the narratives which are consistent with those patterns, narratives are not thereby constrained by them in simple ways. Thus we find narratives that even contradict these cultural patters: sometimes the clever and sly fox plays the role of the 'duped', the hare is a bloody carnivorous animal and so on.[10]

[10] I am grateful to one of the anonymous examiners for these considerations.

The similarity in the representation of human fortunes in storylines that feature dogs, foxes and jackals in the two cultures being compared supports the prioritization of the dog family in this study. While the domestic dog, jackal and fox are all canines, zoologically speaking, the major inspiration for studying these animals as one group in folklore is the interaction that they have with one another, and with other animals in tales of trickery. Other animals will be mentioned as they interact with the one under study at a particular moment.

3.4 *Canidae* as agents of intrigue

In wisdom literatures, domestic dogs, wolves, jackals and foxes can be seen playing different roles that include cheating one another, with the fox being the greatest deceiver. For now, attention is directed at the deployment of the fox as trickster in Kalanga and Greek wisdom literatures. I ask elementary scientific questions to arrive at literary conclusions on the question: what is it about foxes and jackals that feeds their popular world views in narratives of intrigue? What are the general observations of the ancient natural scientists and Kalanga sages, and how much are they influenced by folklore?

3.5 Fox/ jackal

In orature there is a world-wide tendency to assign knavery to the sly jackal and fox .The *Collins Paperback English Dictionary*[11] s.v. 'fox' also adds that as a metaphor, 'fox' refers to a person who is 'sly' and 'cunning.' There is an urgent need to unpack the names 'fox' and 'jackal', as there is a tendency for Kalanga folklore to use the names synonymously. John Worcester gives an idea of the extent of the confounding of the two animals when he indicates that among most

[11] McLeod (1986), 335, s.v. 'Fox'.

Near Eastern languages, like those in Syria, people there use the names interchangeably, although fully aware of the difference between the two animals.[12]

In southern Africa there are no wolves or coyotes, yet there is an abundance of bat-eared fox (*Otocyon megalotis*), the Cape fox (*Vulpes chama*) and the black-backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*). In his handy Kalanga-English dictionary, Luzumo Khupe uses *mhungubwe* and *bhungubwe* interchangeably for both the fox and the jackal.[13] It is important to note that Khupe's dictionary does not use prefixes like 'bat-eared,' 'Cape,' and 'black-backed' in naming the two. He leaves it at just 'fox,' and 'jackal'. The second name *bhungubwe*, with an emphasis on the plosive 'bh-' sound, is a superlative to the former, which is a soft labial vocalisation. *Bhungubwe* would therefore refer to a particularly huge *mhungubwe*, which should properly point to an average-sized fox or jackal. *Phungubwe* is the diminutive form. It is important to note that these are just three forms of one word which can denote the same thing.

However, while both words can be used to refer to one animal, in this confounding, one word can still be used to denote both the fox and jackal, which makes the choice of the fox or jackal to be arbitrary in Kalanga myth. We are not sure that the bat-eared fox is meant or the Cape fox which looks more like a smaller version of a jackal than the bat-eared fox does. The Bat-eared fox is very distinctive. It is possible, especially basing on Mr. Moffat Moyo's definition of fox as *khankana* which is based on this confusion and would make a Cape fox look like a smaller version of a jackal.[14] The diet of the bat-eared fox makes it distinguishable from the other two as

[12] Worcester (1926), 131.
[13] Khupe (2008), 66 & 69.
[14] In another interview with Mr. Moffat Moyo, a man of San origin who speaks Kalanga, Tsoa and Ndebele, *Mhungubwe* refers to the jackal, with the smaller fox being *khankana*, an Ndebele diminutive for *khanka*, which is

its diet is largely insect-based. The bat-eared fox therefore falls out of the scope of the confusion as it is visibly different. There is enough justification, however, to assume that the allocation of literary roles for Cape fox and jackal is still arbitrary.

In a telephone interview with Mr. Phineas Moyo of Diba village near Plumtree, it was clear that the English words 'fox' and 'jackal' and the standard *mhungubwe* refer to the two animals interchangeably. Moyo speculated that the name of the other might have become forgotten, with the result that one name began to be used for the two animals.[15] It is therefore plausible to think of the word *mhungubwe* as a generic name which presumes that the two belong to the same family, with the Cape fox masquerading as a young jackal. This is quite possible, unless an alternative name can be brought forward which sets the Kalanga fox and Kalanga jackal apart. I will therefore ignore the distinction between the two species when dealing with their appearance in Kalanga oral literature as they are treated as one by people that I interviewed, but I will adhere to their distinctions in oral Greek and Latin literatures because the texts are clear about their difference. In Greek myth, ἀλώπηξ (*Vulpes*) or fox is visibly distinct from θώς (*Canis aureus*) or jackal. In the Greek tradition, the fox is the one that is associated with slyness. In *LSJ* s.v. ἀλώπηξ the word also refers to sly humans, for example Solon (fr. 10.5), which I will discuss in detail shortly. The jackal is largely associated with a rapacious character — an opportunistic predator which usually hunts already weakened prey. The jackal appears in passages like the Homeric simile below.

> εὖρον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διῒ φίλον ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
> Τρῶες ἔπονθ' ὡς εἴ τε δαφοινοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν
> ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν βεβλημένον, ὅν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνὴρ

still an ambiguous name for both fox and jackal. Interview with Moffat Moyo, (University of Zimbabwe), 30 May 2013.

[15] Interview with Phineas Moyo, (via telephone) 28 March 2013.

ἰῷ ἀπὸ νευρῆς· τὸν μέν τ' ἤλυξε πόδεσσι
φεύγων, ὅφρ' αἷμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τόν γε δαμάσσεται ὠκὺς ὀϊστός,
ὠμοφάγοι μιν θῶες ἐν οὔρεσι δαρδάπτουσιν
ἐν νέμεϊ σκιερῷ· ἐπί τε λῖν ἤγαγε δαίμων
σίντην· θῶες μέν τε διέτρεσαν, αὐτὰρ ὃ δάπτει·
ὣς ῥα τότ' ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην
Τρῶες ἔπον πολλοί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι, αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἥρως
ἀΐσσων ᾧ ἔγχει ἀμύνετο νηλεὲς ἦμαρ.
Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἠΰτε πύργον,
στῆ δὲ παρέξ· Τρῶες δὲ διέτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος.
Hom. *Il.* 11. 473–86.

They found Odysseus with Trojans
All round him. As brown jackals from the hills
Surround a buck that a man has wounded
With an arrow from a bowstring; while blood and limbs
Still move, it runs, trying to escape;
But when the flying shaft has worn it down,
The scavenging jackals tear it in the hills,
In a shady wood, till some god sends
A hungry lion; the jackals run, the lion feeds;
So, then, the powerful mass of Trojans pressed
around warlike Odysseus, but the hero
kept death at bay by thrusting with his spear.
As Aias approached, his shield like a tower,
And stood nearby, the Trojans scattered….
(Trans. Whitaker, 261)

In this passage the δαφοινοὶ θῶες (jackals/ Trojans) have to abandon their prey (Odysseus) to a lion (Ajax). The jackals are tawny, and they have come down from the hills (ὄρεσφιν). The meaning of δαφοινός was apparently contested even in antiquity, and in *LSJ* it also means 'blood-reeking'. It is not stated whether the jackals are cunning or not, but they are certainly inferior to alpha predator (single lion — Ajax). The reason why Homer does not mention whether the jackals are cunning or not is based on this clarity in the identification of the jackal in Greek cultural thought. As mentioned in my hypothesis, the Homeric passage above is based on the observation that jackals are gregarious. They will tear the buck down in the hills, or in a

shady wood (*Il.* 11. 479–480) when it has already been wounded and weakened by another hunter, a clear indication that this imagery is based on observation of real jackals.

In oral memory, jackals and foxes are generally united by habits that range from destroying vineyards in the ancient Mediterranean world,[16] to raiding small livestock in southern Africa. The two are condemned as predators of small livestock, especially poultry[17] and vectors of rabies.[18] As opportunistic omnivores, they gain an unseemly yet admirable character. This thieving that is associated with the fox (and Kalanga jackal) in real life is clearly behind the depiction of human slyness in terms of a fox or a jackal in myth. The similarity in appearance, in diet and its manner of procurement seem to be a factor in the ambiguity of the fox and jackal's names in some cultures. Seeing a Cape fox pick some poultry at a distance, it could be difficult for an observer to say it was not a jackal that they saw. I am inclined to believe that this confusion in myth is preceded by an initial confusion at observation of real jackals.

3.6 The cunning fox

The following parable is variously ascribed to Homer and Archilochus by Zenobius (5.68): πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἓν μέγα, 'the fox knows many tricks, but the hedgehog knows only one, the greatest'[19] In his eleventh *Olympian*, Pindar sings an ode to Lokrian Hagesidamos, a victor in the boxing ring, and says:

ἀκρόσοφον δὲ καὶ αἰχματὰν ἀφίξεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ

[16] Tristam (1868), 86. Also, Hagedorn (2003), 337-352. Babrius (11), Song of Solomon 2:15
[17] Elliott et al. (1992), 429 and 587
[18] http://www.iucnredlist.org/details/3755/0 (Accessed 15 April 2012)
[19] Archil.201 Lat. 'multa novit vulpes, verum echinus unum magnum' Erasmus Rotterdamus, *Adagia* 1500.

ἐμφυὲς οὔτ᾽αἴθων ἀλώπηξ
οὔτ᾽ἐρίβρομοι λέοντες διαλλάξαντο ἦθος.
Pind. *Ol.* 11. 19-21.

...for I shall pledge my word to you that you shall
There find a race that doth not repel the stranger
Or is unfamiliar with noble pursuits, but is wise
Beyond all others and warlike too; for neither the
Tawny fox nor the roaring lion changes his inborn nature.
(trans. Sandys)

In Pindar's ode, attention must be directed at the phrase τὸ ἐμφυές ἦθος ('innate natures') of the animals involved. The first, τὸ ἐμφυὲς, is translated in *LSJ* as 'inborn', 'innate' or 'engrafted', while ἦθος can mean manners or habits or the disposition and character, hence 'an inborn nature.' In the case of Pindar, the character dispositions of animals are used to depict the character of the Locrians. Pindar is sending the Muses to Locri, and assures them that they will find the Locrians steadfast in their character in the same way in which lions and foxes maintain their *inborn* natures. William Race goes on to identify the native intellectual qualities of the Locrians as qualities of intellect (fox), and courage (lion).[20] The significance of the epithets depicts the character of the Locrians to which Pindar recommends the Muses: αἴθων (ruddy) and ἐρίβρομοι (roaring) as translated by William Race.[21] The animals are relevant to Pindar in that ruddy/ fiery can both refer to the skin-colour of the fox, as well as the disposition of its eyes. However, Verdenius denies connection between fox and adjective here, nor between fox and character of the Locrians.[22]

[20] Race (1997), 179.
[21] Race (2004), 84.
[22] Verdenius (1988), 2.

On the other hand, a loud roaring lion is easy to understand as roaring can easily describe lions. Together the fox and the lion illustrate ἀκρόσοφόντε (high in wisdom, *LSJ*) and αἰχματάν (brave, *LSJ*), respectively. Race relies on a similarity between Pindar. *Ol.* 11 and Anacreon 348. 1–8 to arrive at the conclusion that the gods are friendly to people with such characters. However, these are only two characteristics of the Locrians — they are also hospitable and acquainted with 'fine things' (lines 17–18).

For Fennell, however, the fox represents the mean and ignoble, while the lion represents the noble, as the poet implies that no person, either good or bad, can change their nature.[23] Race notes that the praise of the Lokrians is embedded in a hymnal justification: 'In a kletic hymn like the one under study, the hymnist often seeks to entice the god to come to a place or community by describing its amenities and assuring the gods of a friendly reception.'[24]

Thus, by elucidating the good qualities of the two animals, the poet entices the Muses to Lokri. The poet assumes that his audience already knows the popular view of the animals and understands the 'natures' of the fox and of the lion. It is reasonably safe to conclude that among other things, Pindar is referring to the cunning that has been associated with the fox in Greek oral discourse, as well as the brute force associated with the lion. I find it difficult to follow Fennell's view that the fox represents ignobility in this passage, otherwise the poet would not recommend the Locrians as worthy of the Muses' visit.

[23] Fennell (1893), 107.
[24] Race (2004), 84–5.

Further, the Aesopic tradition largely deploys the fox as a trickster. Fables in which the duplicity of the fox can be seen include Babrius (1.1) where a fox tries to persuade a lion to make his stand against a hunter who is armed with arrows. The lion responds:

> ‘οὔ με πλανήσεις…οὐδ' ἐνεδρεύσεις·
> ὅπου γὰρ οὕτω πικρὸν ἄγγελον πέμπει,
> πῶς αὐτὸς ἤδη φονερός ἐστι γινώσκω.’ Babrius 1. 14–16.

> ‘You are not going to fool me, nor catch me in a trap; when he sends me such a stinging messenger as this, I know without waiting any longer how formidable he is in his own person.’ (trans. Perry, 7)

Another tale relates a meeting between a fox and a crow. The crow loses a piece of cheese because the crafty fox has encouraged the crow to caw, and so lose his piece of cheese. The last lines in Babrius read:

> ‘οὐκ ἦσθ’ ἄφωνος’ εἶπεν ‘ἀλλὰ φωνήεις·
> ἔχεις, κόραξ, ἅπαντα, νοῦς δέ σοι λείπει.’
> Babrius 77. 11–12.[25]

> ‘You were not dumb, it seems, you have indeed a voice; you have everything, Sir Crow, except brains’ (trans. Perry, 97)

The two cited passages illustrate the fox as a cheat who thrives by tricking other animals. There are common features in the depiction of the fox, as can be seen in the following citation from Semonides:

[25] Other entries for the fox include **(**Phaedrus 1. 10,13,26,28; BK 4.3, 9, etc).

τὴν δ᾽ ἐξ ἀλιτρῆς θεὸς ἔθηκ᾽ ἀλώπεκος
γυναῖκα πάντων ἴδριν· οὐδέ μιν κακῶν
λέληθεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων.
Semonides 7. 7–9.

Another did God make of a knavish Vixen, a
woman knowing in all things, who taketh note of all, be it
good or bad.... (Trans. Edmonds, 217).

The fox-woman in the passage above is characterized as knowing everything, either good or bad. In Babrius 130. 1–11, a fox encourages a wolf to extract meat from a trap, and the wolf gets struck by the snare. The fox is certainly deployed as cleverer than the wolf, whom he uses for his own benefit. The wolf is heedless, whereas the fox is circumspect. The wolf does not adopt a similar vigilance when he is extracting the meat because he has a reputation for gluttony. It seems as if the wolf is traditionally regarded as a heedless animal because it fails to control its hunger and gets struck by the snare in the process. In Babrius (132), a wolf tries to win a sheep over by talking to it, but fails in the endeavour. Again in Babrius (122), a donkey gets the better of a wolf when he convinces the latter to rid him of a thorn in his hoof. After helping the donkey, the wolf is given a kick and left wondering why he had been duped to perform the task of a physician when all he has ever been is a butcher. The character of a physician that the wolf does not want to be associated with must be that of a benevolent animal, while the character of a butcher derives from the carnivorous appetite of the wolf.

Although the wolf can be associated with guile, as can be seen in Phaedrus (1.10), attention is usually directed at its forcefulness rather than its cunning nature. The forceful nature of the wolf can be seen when a wolf devours a lamb on trumped up charges in both Phaedrus (1.1) and

Babrius (89). There is no cunning involved here. It is interesting to note that the wolf loses in all attempts at cheating other animals, and only thrives on violence. When we read fables in which the fox dupes bigger animals, especially for his own benefit, these passages can be viewed as a critique against the social status quo, with the fox representing the small man, and the wolf and lion representing the powerful people who are not so clever.

T.M. Mbulawa, a Kalanga writer of Botswana narrates a tale where a fox and a hyena set out to steal goats and sheep at a farm due to hunger. Getting there, the two perforate the fence and enter through gaps that are just sufficient to admit them with their empty stomachs. Overfeeding would cause them to fail to get out of the sheep and goats' pens as they would get stuck by their midriffs. The greedy hyena neglects to check periodically whether he can still pass through. He gorges himself until he can no longer fit through the small perforation. He spends the night trapped inside the pen until the next morning when he is discovered by the farmer and given a thorough beating.[26]

A similar storyline also appears in the fables of Aesop (Babrius 86), where a fox is trapped among the hollow buttress roots of an oak tree while pilfering through a goatherd's pouch for bread and meat. The fox's belly swells just like the hyena's in Mbulawa's tale. The swelling of a thief's belly is therefore a recurrent motif in both Greek and Kalanga folktales. Interestingly, the fox features in both traditions, though playing different roles. In Aesop's fable, another fox assures the trapped fox that he should wait for the pangs of hunger for him to be able to get out of the trap. In the Greek and Kalanga traditions, the characteristics of the fox in terms of theft,

[26] Mbulawa (2001), 6–9.

cunning, a way with words and always seeking self-advantage, are constant. While acknowledging the depiction of the fox as a thief in Mbulawa's story, the restraint and resourcefulness of the fox are also often emphasised.

Pertaining to the world-wide presentation of the fox in both literary and oral literature, Uther believes that the fox is taken to be the incarnation of cunning, slyness, perfidy, and even wickedness.[27] In legends of China and Japan, the fox represents the spirit of cunning. The tale of the Jewel Maiden features an Emperor's concubine who metamorphosed into a fox spirit. These foxes are masters of illusion.[28] The fox spirits change into very beautiful maidens.[29] Comparing the fox in Western and Eastern traditions, Lum concludes that,

> '… the nature of the fox, the guile, the sharpness of wit, the slinking and elusive wildness that have made him seem a spirit readily possessed by demons which are able in turn to possess human beings, are similar from West to East.'[30]

In an interview held at Tjankwa village near Plumtree Mrs Madamu Nkomo argued that a fox is chosen in the Kalanga proverb of trickery because *inabutsotsi*, 'it has trickery.' However, this respondent was not worried about how or why a fox was specifically chosen to symbolise knavery, because *tjiKalanga tjinojalo*, 'the Kalanga language puts it so.'[31] This amounts to cultural sanctioning. I have observed this tendency of *ipse dixit* among most of my informants and interlocutors. Most people do not care about the choice of certain animals to fulfil certain narrative roles, but accept the tradition they have inherited without question.

[27] Uther (2006), 134., quoting Worcester, (1875).
[28] Lum (1951), 163.
[29] Lum (1951), 164.
[30] Lum (1951), 168.
[31] Interview with Mrs Madamu Nkomo at Tjankwa village (April 2011).

The examples cited so far suggest that the common worldwide perception of the fox is that of a cunning animal. This is largely based on the observed behaviour of real foxes. There is a bit of aetiology in the deployment of the fox and the role it plays in folklore. The view that observation of animals informs their deployment in folklore is opposed to those scholars who subscribe to universalism and polygenesis.[32] Rather, I will stick to my hypothesis that narrative roles are influenced by the observation of feeding patterns and slinking gait of foxes the world over.

More incidents of the fox's craftiness can be found in Phaedrus 1.10, where both *lupus* (wolf) and *vulpes* (fox) are as villainous as one another; (also 1.13, 1.26, 1.28, 4.19). In Babr. 4.9 a crafty fox escapes from a well into which he has fallen by planting his feet on a goat's horns, leaving the goat imprisoned in the well. One of the most conspicuous aspects of this story is that unlike the fox in Kalanga lore and, contrary to what one would normally expect to happen in the natural world from observation of the animal's behaviour, this particular fox does not eat the goat. In this tale, the fox shows itself as a wise animal who does not follow the dictates of hunger. He makes the prudent decision to play on the goat's thirst as a means of escaping from the well. In this case the fox is able to resist its natural impulses. The goat is not able to see through this trick, and blindly follows the natural impulse of thirst until it is trapped in the well. The fox assists by claiming that the water is so good he cannot get enough of it. Almost as if more than thirst is at issue here — *voluptas*. The lesson is that one should learn to restrain one's appetite.

[32] Campbell (1975).

The knavery of the fox, it would seem, is also reinforced in the alliteration and assonance in the following proverb, *Mhungubwe njendi njendi inobuya nensungo wolubwa*, 'A fox, because it likes to move around a lot, was caught in a snare that was originally meant for a dog,' (Tr. 15). One notes the wordplay (jingle effect) in the adjective that describes the fox: *njendi njendi*, from *yenda*, 'go' in the imperative. The proverb is literally translates as, 'a fox that *goes-goes* comes back with a dog's snare.' In fact, some of my informants at Diba village pronounced the phrase as *nyendo nyendo* [lit. 'of many journeys'], where both the English translation and the interpretation would remain the same. In both *njendi njendi* and *nyendo nyendo* (in other versions), attention is directed at the way a fox walks, on its toes. *Mhungubwe njendi njendi* is a noun (the name of the fox) that is linked with a reduplicated present participle (going-going), while *mhungubwe nyendo nyendo* is a compound that is built from a noun and a reduplicated genitive participle (a fox of many journeys). These forms become formulaic since they are musical. Most Kalanga people that I spoke to were able to recite the proverb, although some of them did not know what the word *njendi njendi* or *nyendo nyendo* actually meant. They remembered the proverb particularly for these musical qualities. In the Botswana collection, the proverb reads, *Phungubwe njendi njendi inobuya nensungo wolubgwa*, 'A wandering jackal comes back with a dog's rope'; and the exegesis is, 'if you act improperly, you will find yourself with problems'.[33] One needs to note the argument by some interpreters, as the one above, against using '*nsungo*' to mean a rope, whereby the wandering fox came back wearing a rope that would have been used to snare dogs. Another possibility is a metaphorical reading where *nsungo* means a 'chain' of dogs, that is to say that the fox came back with dogs pursuing it. This is based on the

[33] Moswela et al.(1998a), 6.

observation that Kalanga people do not habitually snare dogs, thus making the reading above impossible, if not wrong.

I will return to the proverb's thematic criticism in succeeding chapters, but for now I want to pay attention to its structure. Joseph Russo notes the importance of phonetic and structural devices that serve to sharpen verbal expressiveness, thereby pointing to the proverb's statement of truth. Some of the categories listed by Russo include rhyme, alliteration and assonance; repetition of the same word or same grammatical-syntactical structure; vowel harmony, and they work together as poetic intensifying devices.[34] Foxes and jackals are described as digitigrades, possessing long legs that are adapted to hunting and stalking prey.[35] In the same vein, Stanford draws a believable picture of the musical qualities of many lines of ancient Greek poetry, citing onomatopoeic forms which conform to normal linguistic conventions. For example, the names of birds like *korax* 'raven,' *krex*, 'corncrake,' *kukkox*, 'cuckoo,' which are names based on the sounds these birds make. He also exploits a wide range of mimetic nouns like *klange*, etc. 'More subtly, words which were not mimetic in themselves were arranged so as to have mimetic effects as in the famous description of mules trotting over hard ground in *Iliad* (23. 116)' (πολλὰ δ' ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον) 'and ever upward, downward, sideward, and aslant they went (trans. A.T. Murray, 501).[36]

[34] Russo (1983), 122. Stanford (1981) also notes that in the case of Greek poetry, 'besides establishing a physical link between ideas, this kind of euphony can have another very important function by helping to make statements memorable. We are all familiar with this in proverbs,' 132. Likewise the first syllable of the name of the monster Charybdis in *Od.* 12.104, etc. embodies her characteristic action, that of opening her mouth wide to swallow ships down (the name of the monster can be explained by looking at the verb χάσκω, to yawn or gape).

[35] http://www.scienceofcorrespondence.com/fox-and-jackal.html (accessed 15 April 2012). And, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/163367/digitigrade-posture (accessed 5 August 2013)

[36] Stanford (1981), 129.

Solon's elegy (fr. 10.5–8) cited above also pays homage to ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι, 'the steps of a fox'. One can therefore conclude that the fox's physical appearance, that is, the way it walks, plays a crucial part in the deployment of the animal in myth. It is crucial to note that daily activities play a large part in the depiction of the animal in wisdom literatures. The Greek fox and Kalanga fox and jackal are always on the tip-toe, searching for food. The intelligence that the animals demonstrate is the type called 'menu-driven intelligence', which basically looks at the amount of mental effort that an animal must expend to get a meal.[37] As opportunistic scavengers, foxes should require more mental effort than herbivores, for instance.

The image of the digitigrades on the move draws attention to the animals' locomotion because they move with a gait that is normally used by humans when they are doing bad things (sneaking). These tales, being an anthropomorphic interpretation of animal behaviour, are projections of human personalities and expectations via the imagery of animals. The attention that is paid especially to locomotion can be seen in the reduplicated '*njendi-njendi*' and at the fox's gait in Solon's elegy.

Another fragment of Archilochus relates a meeting between a crafty fox and an ape:

> ἐρ<έω> τιν' ὔμιν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδη,
> ἀχνυμένηι σκυτάληι,
> πίθηκος ἤιει θηρίων ἀποκριθεὶς
> μοῦνος ἀν' ἐσχατιήν,
> τῶι δ' ἦρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλῆ συνήντετο,
> πυκνὸν ἔχουσα νόον.
> Archil. fr. 89 Edmonds [Ammon. 6 Valck.]

[37] Yoerg (2001), 162. Yoerg's cognitive scientific study on animal intelligence places foxes on top of the list, together with chimpanzees, mustelids and racoons.

> Like a grevious message-stick, thou son of a
> Herald, I will tell thee and thine a fable: The Ape
> Parted from the other beasts and was walking alone
> In the borderland, when the crafty Fox met him with
> Cunning in his heart. (trans. Edmonds, 145)

It is important to note that in the verses from Archilochus cited above, the fox is crafty (κερδαλῆ), and has a cunning mind (πυκνὸν νόον). Although πυκνὸν literally denotes 'close-packed', in this case it must be read at a metaphorical level to mean that the mind of the fox was 'shrewd.'

At times being crafty can be a positive attribute. In Kalanga, the helpful character of the fox/jackal can be seen in Mbulawa's tale of the fox and hyena plundering the flock of a farmer, the intention of the fox is to help the hyena get a meal. It is unfortunate that the hyena overeats and gets caught, but this is not the fault of the fox.

The ingenuity of the fox can be seen in fables like Babrius (103) and Phaedrus (1.28). In the former, the fox does not visit the sick lion lying in its den because the fox does not discover any tracks leading out of the den: the fox only sees all tracks going into lion's den but none coming out.[38] It has emerged that the image of the cunning fox in folklore transcends both Kalanga and ancient Greek wisdom literatures. The fox is also associated with trickery among some South American communities, as well as in the Biblical lands. I am inclined to conclude that the image of the clever fox in myth derives from the real, natural fox in the way it walks, and in the way it gathers its food.

[38] Uther (2006), 145.

3.7 The cunning hare in Kalanga folklore

Many African tales of intrigue feature the hare as the *architectus dolorum*. The fame of the fox as a trickster in Greek literature can be equated to that of the hare (*lishulo*, *shulo*/ *luhulo*, *hulo*) in Kalanga lore. The hare manages to trick a lot of bigger and more powerful animals as well as human beings. However, he is never successful at cheating the tortoise. In Mbulawa's folktale, Hare refuses to help other animals in the digging of a communal well. In retaliation, the animals prohibit him from sharing their water. However, Hare cunningly manages to dupe them one by one by offering them honey, until the tortoise catches him through the stratagem of wax. The first animal to guard the well is *Mungubwe* the fox/jackal. Hare dupes him by giving him honey, and the fox allows him to fetch water. Hare manages to trick all the animals on guard until Tortoise (*Gomwe*) asks to be given a chance to guard the well. When Tortoise is given the chance, he moulds a tortoise statue out of wax. When Hare arrives at the well, he looks down on the image and starts to address it. The waxen image of the tortoise does not respond, naturally. This makes Hare angry and he starts to assault the tortoise's waxen image. The result is that his paws get stuck onto the wax until all the animals return and discover the hare trapped. Hare is brought for trial and is found guilty. His reparation is that he should keep the mouth of the well clean. A dog is given the task of guarding the hare, but the hare runs away. Till today, Hare and the dog do not see eye to eye, says the storyteller.[39] In my view, this is an etiological myth that tries among other things, to explain why a dog will always chase a hare when they meet. The myth is based on the real relationship between hares and dogs outside folklore: a dog chases a hare for food.

[39] Mbulawa (2001), 15-19. This story also appears verbatim in Moswela and Mothetho (1998b), 59-63.

The motif of the waxen image and the hare also features in one of Uncle Remus' tales, the story of Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby. The astonishing similarity between Kalanga folktales and the story of Uncle Remus also appears in the tale of Brer Fox and Mr. Man. In this tale, a fox wants to rob a man who is driving a wagon filled with provisions like eggs, chickens and butter. Brer Fox wants to employ a trick that was once used by Brer Rabbit on him. When Brer Rabbit had seen Brer Fox walking down the road with a bag of game, Brer Rabbit had lain on the road and pretended to be dead. Brer Fox had ignored him in the first instance, and Brer Rabbit had got up and raced ahead of Brer Fox, where he was ignored again. At the third instance, Brer Fox had put down his game bag and went back to pick up the rabbits which he thought he'd passed, only to find them gone. Coming back to get his bag of game, Brer Fox discovers that he has been duped by Brer Rabbit. Brer Fox wants to use the same trick on Mr. Man, and he almost succeeds. His success is thwarted by Mr. Man's cleverness. Mr. Man cracks a whip at Brer Fox, and Brer Fox takes to his heels.[40] In this tale, Brer Rabbit is surely cleverer than Brer Fox, and Man is clever than Fox.

The similarity in the waxen image motif is amazing. Going by the Finnish or Geographical method, it can be explained that the tales of Brer Rabbit and his compatriots have African origins, (which are not necessarily exclusive to Kalanga culture). Like most African tales, the story of Brer Rabbit positions the rabbit (hare) and the fox (and the jackal in Kalanga) as tricksters. In the story cited above, the hare is definitely cited as the cleverer of the two and Brer Fox is stupid as seen in the quotation below.

'Some folks say Brer Fox was no 'count and good for nothing. Others

[40] Lester, *The adventures of Brer Rabbit: Brer Fox and Mr. Man*, page 3. SOURCE: www.sciword.demon.co.uk/brer.pdf (Accessed 5 August 2013).

> say he was a schemer and a conniver, and them was his good qualities! Of all the things I heard folks say about him, though, I never did hear nobody say Brer Fox was smart.'[41]

In a folktale entitled *Lungano gwe Shulo*, 'The tale of the Hare', Mbulawa reports that the hare was cleverer than humans and all other animals.[42] In this tale, Hare (Shulo) offers to babysit for a human woman. One day Hare and his friends, the hyena and other animals, kill the baby and eat it (giving some meat to the mother to eat). At dusk when the woman called Hare to bring her child, the hare carried a stone and told the woman to sit down. When the lady sat down, the hare let the stone fall onto the woman's legs, thereby fracturing them. Hare then went to invite his friends and they killed the woman. The woman's husband then sought a way by which he could capture and kill the hare. He tracked the hare and after overtaking it, he changed himself into an *nswanja* fruit tree. The hare did not eat the fruits, so the man changed back into his human form and overtook the hare before metamorphosing into meat. The man had also provided fire and salt, so the hare sat down and roasted and ate the meat. Hare had eaten the man; but then the man's voice started to speak from inside the hare's stomach, demanding to know where his family was; also demanding where he might exit from the hare's stomach. In the end, the man exited from Hare's anus, and the hare was torn open and died. Here the tale ends.[43]

From the above, it is clear that the hare represents human tastes when he ignores the sour *nswanja* fruits, but is beguiled by meat. In non-vegetarian societies like the traditional Kalanga, meat is a rarity that is held in high esteem, and is rarely available. It is understandable that Hare should be tempted more by such a product than by wild fruits. The fact that hares are herbivorous

[41] Ibid. [see above]
[42] Mbulawa (2001), 12.
[43] Mbulawa (2001), 15.

and not carnivorous suggests that the hare represents a human being. The folktale therefore requires a considerable suspension of belief as one has to contend with the image of a hare raising a stone huge enough to fracture a grown woman's legs and eating human flesh.

In stories like this, the hare's character is not built on the observation of hares in real life but on symbolic affordance. It seems to me that Hare is the character who can accommodate a number of human characters more than any other animal. In the story above, Hare is conceived as a nanny, a cannibal who eats babies, and a heedless carnivore who eats meat that later kills him. In a study of iKalanga trickster tales and the gender question, Wazha Lopang argues that the hare is conceived as androgynous, noting that the gender dimension only comes after the translation of the stories into English because iKalanga does not have the article for he, she/it.[44] Going by the ubiquitous nature of Hare's activities, I tend to agree with Lopang on the ambiguity of the gender of the hare. I also speculate that this ambiguity must be caused by the similarity between male and female hares in real life. Male hares are not as distinct from their female counterparts like, say lions or kudus (females do not have horns).

In addition, this attitude of the Hare that defies both its normal appetite and small stature to challenge big animals is found in the story, *Lungano gwe Shumba naLishulo* 'The tale of the lion and the hare', where Hare visits Lion with the interntion of punishing him for killing other animals for food. The hare challenges the lion to a fight and the lion agrees. The hare then suggests they build a pen in which they will fight. When the pen is almost finished, Hare invites the lion to get in and build it from inside. The lion completes the building, and traps himself

[44] Lopang (2003), 4.

inside. Hare then leaves Lion, promising to come back soon, but does not come back for a number of days. When he comes back, he finds the lion starving and thirsty. Hare leaves Lion in this state until the lion is rescued by his friend who had come to visit. After the lion regained his health, he hunts for the hare, and when they meet, the lion chases the hare until the latter escapes into a hole that he had burrowed. The lion catches him by the leg, but the hare tells him that he is only clutching a root. So the lion lets go of the hare's leg and grabs the real root. The hare screams. The lion pulls until the root snaps and the lion tumbles. The hare then gets out of the hole and sprints away.

He gets to a river in flood where he changes himself into a stone. When the lion gets to the riverbank, he picks up the 'stone' and imagines how good it would be to throw the stone at the hare. So the lion hurls the 'stone' across the flooded river and is dismayed when he sees the hare landing instead of the stone. The lion then accepts that he will never be able to catch and kill the hare. This tale explains why a lion does not bother chasing a hare for meat.[45] Once again, the audience must engage in some suspension of belief to conceive of a lion that is so stupid and always falls for the hare's tricks. However, looking at how small a hare is when compared to a lion, and the difficulties the lion must go through in order to capture such a small animal, the allegories become really communicative as they are based on the interaction of the two animals. As the tale indicates in its epimythion, one of the lessons the audience learns is why a lion never bothers to chase a hare for meat.

[45] Mbulawa (2001), 21–25.

As indicated above, the hare is sometimes surprisingly carnivorous. In three instances, he gets a job as a nanny and kills, cooks, and eats the children that he is hired to guard. In another tale, the hare gets a job as a nanny to look after three leopard cubs. When the leopard is out hunting, the hare decides to kill and eat one of the leopard's cubs. When the leopard comes back from the hunt, the hare offers her meat from her cub. After eating, the leopard then asks to be given her litter so that she might suckle them. The hare brings the first, the second, and then the first again to replace the third one which they have just eaten. The following day, the hare kills and cooks the second cub, so that when it is time for suckling, he brings out the same cub three times! After killing and cooking the third and last cub, the hare goes out to look for baboons. He invites the baboons to learn a new song in which the hare will sing a leading verse asking, 'Who ate the children of the leopard?' The baboons will have to answer, *ndiswi, ndiswi makudo*, 'it is us, us the baboons'. When the leopard comes back, the hare runs to her and reports that the baboons came and took the children by force. He leads the leopard to the baboons and, meeting them, he sings out the question, to which the baboons chorus as they have been taught. The leopard attacks and kills all the baboons.[46]

Similarly, the hare is also hired as a nanny by the porcupine. He eats the children of his employer in the manner he ate the children of the leopard. Once again, the blame falls on the baboons that are taught to sing a song that proclaims their guilt for eating the children of the porcupine. The mother porcupine avenges her dead young by shooting quills at the unsuspecting baboons.[47] In a slightly different tale, Hare is hired as a nanny by a woman who needs someone to babysit her baby while she weeds her fields. The woman had a habit of allowing the hare to spend the whole

[46] Moswela and Mothetho (1998b), 45–46.
[47] Chebani (2001), 36–38.

day with her baby, only to call him through a song when it was time to breastfeed her child. One day Hare did not heed the woman's call, and when she searched for him, she discovered hare holding the leg of her dead child.[48]

I think these stories of the hare setting up the baboons to be killed by the leopard are modelled on the fact that baboons are usually killed by leopards for food. This also supports the thesis that some of the characterization of animals emanates from the animals' feeding patterns and the way the animals interact in the wild. The version where the baboons are killed by porcupines seems to be just another version of the same tale. The fact that the porcupines use their quills to pierce the baboons is modelled on the porcupine's defence system. However, my hypothesis that animal behaviour influences its deployment in myth is untenable insofar as the diet of the hare is concerned. Hares are herbivores, and any mention of them eating flesh is fanciful.

My conclusion is that human beings tend to represent their own appetites and fears through animals. In the story of Brer Fox and Mr. Man, the hare is reported to have got away with a bag of game meat from Brer Fox. The fact that the hare is not a carnivore is not important in the representation of the character of the hare because the tale is about people in the first place. One very striking theme in the stories I have just emphasised is the issue of baby-sitting and the theme of child-eating by the individual entrusted with child-minding. Normally, parents want a child-minder who will dispense her duties professionally, giving the best care to the child. In the least, stories about hare being a nanny are therefore a critique on child-care and child minders who cannot take good care of infants.

[48] Chebani (2001), 24.

I think the duplicity of the hare in Kalanga folklore seems to be largely inspired by the difficulty involved in hunting the animal. In a discussion that I initiated on Facebook with the social group 'Plumtree Ndeyedu' where I posted a question asking why the hare is always depicted duping other animals in folklore, most respondents were content to say that this is simply because Kalanga folklore is like that: *ipsum dixit*. However, Nduna Tjuma reminded me that the nickname for the hare is *Luvunambwa* (lit. the dog breaker), '…even today *umvundla* [Ndebele for 'hare'] is clever, *ma wake wazingela ulwazi uluvunambwa*, 'if you have ever hunted a hare.' This name *luvunambwa* literally translates 'dog breaker', and according to interpretive criticism, it derives from the way a hare twists and turns when it is being pursued by dogs, (so that a dog might break its back while trying to catch the hare?).[49]

In Swahili folklore, the hare (Karuru) is famous for its cleverness to the extent that the first president of independent Tanzania, Julius Nyerere was nicknamed 'the Hare' in recognition of his political manoeuvres. Katikiro thinks this wisdom was best illustrated when Nyerere met Queen Elizabeth II and the latter offered him a gloved handshake, to which Nyerere offered his walking stick. The Queen, according to Katikiro, ungloved her hand and offered a proper handshake. According to Katikiro, this diplomatic tactic justifies why Nyerere would be called Karuru, 'the Hare'.[50]

To conclude on the fame of both the hare and the fox, I must present a common observation on the behaviour of ancient hares by Aelian who begins his discussion by stating that hares are often

[49] https://www.facebook.com/fndlovu3?fref=ts (accessed 23 May 2013)
[50] Interview with Elizeus Gordian Katikiro, (University of Zimbabwe), 30 November 2013.

caught by foxes through stratagem. Aelian gives a brief and delectable description of how a fox will use its stratagems to catch a hare. The Kalanga fox would not catch a hare easily either, especially as evidenced by the way the hare torments the lion in a tale that seeks to explain why the lion never bothers chasing a hare.[51] The hare does not appear as a representation of cleverness in Archaic Greek wisdom literature. The fox is sly even in Aelian's non-folklorist approach.

3.8 The dupes in the processes of intrigue

This section looks at those animals that appear to play losing roles in narratives that involve cheating. Most examples in this section will feature those animals that the hare and fox cheat, by and large — in short, the dupes in the processes of intrigue. Since the sections above have dealt with the archetypes of cheating in both wisdom literatures, I content myself with mentioning a cheated animal where that particular animal has been cheated by a fox or hare in a previously cited passage. This helps to avoid repetition.

3.9 *Canidae* as victims of cheating

While foxes play a significant role in deceiving other animals, it is interesting to note that the fox and other canids also appear to play the role of losers in the processes of intrigue. In Phaedrus (1.20), stupid dogs drink water until they burst. Though not tricked by anybody in that text, the dogs just engage in logical thinking based on false premises that they would have to empty a pond by drinking all its water so as to get to a hide submerged in the pond. In the Perrotti

[51] Mbulawa (2001), 21–25

collection of fables (n.19), a wolf is rebuffed by a sow that is giving birth.[52] The examples cited above, indicate the wolf as the biggest loser in the contest of wits. A wolf is given a kick to the mouth by an ass, and realises quite late that it has been duped (Babrius 122). Many times the fox dupes the wolf.

3.10 'The fox outfoxed'[53]

There are some occasions, however, where the fox is outwitted by other animals and by nature. The fox which gets caught while raiding a goatherd's pouch also highlights the stupidity of the fox in fable (Babrius 86). Sometimes things go wrong and the fox gets outfoxed, which is to say the fox is not invincible and can be outwitted. The fox is fooled by the stork or crane (Phaedrus 1.26). Out of revenge the bird offers the fox food in a narrow-mouthed jar in order to punish an earlier uncharitable act by the fox, where the fox had offered the stork some thin soup. The stork had failed to consume this meal because of the handicap offered by its long beak. This long beak, however, makes it easy for the stork to access the food in the thin-necked jar.[54] The moral of the story is *sua quisque exempla debet aequo animo pati*, 'One who sets an example ought to bear it with patience when he gets the same in return' (Phaedrus 1.26.12). The attack here is more on the physical designs of the fox and stork than it is on greed. While the design of the stork's beak does not permit it to drink the thin soup, the narrow-necked jar from which the fox ought to get food also prevents it from getting any of the food. It must be noted that the stork or crane is punishing the fox for a previous deception where the fox had placed some soup on a marble slab and invited the bird to eat.

[52] Perry (1965), 401.
[53] Uther (2006), 149.
[54] Uther (2006), 149.

A similar narrative pattern is followed in a Kalanga folktale that is narrated by Maikano. Hare and Baboon planted an orchard, but when the fruits were ripe, the baboon ate the fruits alone because the hare could not climb the trees. As a revenge, the hare invited the baboon to a wedding party, but burned the grass near his home. When the baboon came to attend the party, he dirtied his forefeet on the burned grass and was ordered to go back and wash his hands at an adjacent stream. Baboon had to walk across the same burnt patch on his way back to the party, thus necessitating the need for him to go back and wash his hands, a procedure he undertook until the food was finished.[55] This story clearly demonstrates the question of the physical build and ability of an animal. Although the animals in Aesop's fable and in the Kalanga tale are different, the narrative structure and themes bear some similarities. The moral of the story is that all people should treat each other fairly especially in matters of gaining access to the means of production and food. The animals punish each other by showing the way nature has imposed limits on what foods they can access as a result of their physiology. Furthermore, the moral is concerned with issues such as hospitality and the pooling of resources (sharing) that the animals in question are lacking.

Furthermore, Moswela and Mothetho's collection of folktales relates how the hare once got the fox into trouble with human beings. The tale states that one day Hare went out to look for food. He came to a road along which ox-drawn carts passed. He lay down and pretended to be dead, so that when the cart driver came along, he picked the hare up and threw him into the cart. Once Hare was inside the cart, he started to offload the groceries and later he jumped off and ran back

[55] Maikano (1977), 33.

to pick up his commodities. Hare introduced Fox to this method of stealing food, but the latter was caught in the act of offloading the groceries and was given a thorough beating. Fox then went out to look for Hare with an intention of punishing him. He found Hare holding an overhanging rock. As soon as Hare saw Fox, he screamed and asked Fox to come and help him hold back the rock as it was falling on top of him. Fox clutched the rock and Hare walked away. Later, Fox was discovered holding this rock by baboons. The baboons reassured him that the rock would not fall, thus setting him free at long last. There is an interesting reversal of roles here, as the customarily clever fox is duped, and the baboons are sagacious. It is understandable though, that Hare should emerge the overall trickster who takes Fox for a ride because in Kalanga folktale, Hare is the more superior trickster. The fox is therefore not that all-wise in both Greek fables and Kalanga folktales. In tales like these, the fox moralises on the deceived deceiver, teaching that cleverness is not immune to a more superior cunning.

In the next and final meeting between the two, Fox finds Hare holding a honeycomb and eating honey. When Fox wants to start a fight, Hare argues that this cannot happen as it is a Sunday and a day of prayer. The hare claims that the honeycomb that he is holding in his hands (or front paws) is a hymn-book. Fox asks for the hymn-book, to which Hare responds that Fox must fetch his own from the bee hive. Fox gets into the hive where the bees sting him to death.[56] In this tale, the fox is portrayed as stupid. This story resonates with that of Brer Rabbit and Mister Man mentioned earlier, thus showing that the stories of Brer Rabbit share some similar storylines with the Kalanga tales of Hare. The motif of a wagon full of groceries appears in the African-American tale as well as in the Kalanga one. The hymn-book in the Kalanga tale quoted above

[56] Moswela and Mothetho (1998), 42–43.

possibly reveals that the story may actually be an American tale that has been paraphrased for liturgical purposes. The sacredness of the Sunday to which Hare refers is a Christian phenomenon that puts the traditional authenticity of the tale into question. However, that does not matter since the tale has been integrated into contemporary Kalanga folklore.

By and large, these stories, though selected from diverse cultures, bear some similarities in the depiction of guileful deception. Greek hares are, like their African counterparts, strong and agile, although surprisingly they do not feature in early Greek fables, surprisingly. The variation in the later parts of the Kalanga folktale above illustrates the improvisational nature of fictional folktales which develop as various bits of older tales are combined, '...sequences altered or improvised, descriptions of characters shifted, and settings placed in other locales.'[57]

In fables of Aesop, the fox is also eluded by vegetation. In the fable of the fox and the sour grapes, the fox is frustrated in his enterprise by the height of the grapes above the ground (Phaedrus 4.3). This fable does not have a parallel in Kalanga folklore, but it helps to illustrate the limitations of the fox. While the fox is clever and usually has a solution to many problems, in the fable of the sour grapes he fails to come up with a way of eating the grapes, and ultimately consoling himself by saying that the grapes are sour. Fox is 'trapped' within his own stereotype — that he cannot fail in trickery; so he consoles himself by pretending to himself that he does not want the grapes anyway. The motif of being defeated by nature also appears at Babrius 86 where a fox is trapped between the roots of a tree when attempting to raid a goatherd's pouch. It is important to note that the fox and hare are not completely invincible, as they too must contend

[57] Kurke (2011), 141.

with the reality of being mentally inferior sometimes. The moral of this story is to dissuade greed (symbolised by the goatherd's pouch of food). These foxes and hares, together with their foibles, teach that no one is entirely clever in all situations. These narratives are also criticisms of conceit and overconfidence in one's abilities.

3.11 Hyena

Another animal that features in Kalanga folktales is the hyena. It resembles the fox because it is a scavenger, as indicated by Charles Zwane's interview earlier. The tale where Hyena and Fox go and raid a farmyard for sheep meat illustrates that the hyena is a stupid animal which delights in eating.[58] It seems that the greed of the hyena is its most significant characteristic in folktales. In Chebani's collection of Kalanga folktales that have been translated into English, a woman goes on a visit with her nine children. When they meet a hyena, the woman asks the hyena to dance for her, and pays it with goat meat that she happens to be carrying. After this show, the hyena comes back, sings without any prompting and then demands payment; the woman pays with the last of the remaining meat, and when the hyena comes again, the woman has nothing more to offer. The hyena bites off her buttock, and when he comes back again, the hyena eats her up.[59] It can be argued that the hatred for the hyena is culturally sanctioned in Kalanga literature due to this tale. This antagonised relationship must lie behind the cultural hatred reserved for the hyena in folklore.

This argument is reinforced by John Mbiti who lists a number of peoples like the Fajulu, Nuer and Madi along the Nile valley who blame the hyena for having cut off the cow-skin rope which

[58] Mbulawa (2001), 6–9.
[59] Chebani (2001), 34.

once joined the earth to heaven, thus causing a separation between the two worlds.[60] So, there is this well-documented negative view of the hyena in folklore. The recklessness of the African hyena is equal to that of the wolf in western folklore. The hyena represents blind force and is usually stupid in folktales. However, the Greek tradition, however, gives fanciful descriptions of the Hyena, for example Aelian (*NA* 7. 22). The elder Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 8. 105) also gives an equally unreliable account of the behaviour of the hyena. The reason behind this fanciful description of the animals is that the Ancient Greeks had little direct acquaintance with the animal, and this presumably accounts for the absence of the hyena in Greek fables.

3.12 Primates

Another animal that represents stupidity in Kalanga wisdom literature is the baboon. Wazha Lopang relates the story where Hare and Baboon plan to steal sweet potatoes from the fields of human beings. Instead of sharing, Baboon decides to eat alone, and as punishment, the hare ties the baboon's tail onto a stump and then calls out for the human owners of the field. When the owners get there, Baboon breaks his tail and escapes from danger. The following day Hare cooks the tail and serves it to Baboon.[61] The only way for Hare to get his revenge on Baboon, is to identify his weakness and exploit it. In this tale, Baboon's flaw is greed.[62] The tale is therefore a critique against greed.

[60] Mbiti (1969), 50.
[61] Lopang (2003), 37.
[62] Other examples which feature the stupid baboon include Moswela and Mothetho (1998b), 45–46), and Chebani (2001), 36–38).

It is surprising why primates, being so close to man in ancestry and appearance, and in possession of a brain that is proportionally larger than most animals,[63] should appear almost always stupid in myth. On the part of critics, those who believe in the State of Creation narrative accept that baboons were created naturally stupid. Those who choose to go by the Darwinian theory of evolution would be genuinely shocked that primates should be cast as stupid, seeing that baboons are closer to man than foxes.[64] Is it because they seem to imitate man in their daily transactions? Are they poor imitators of man? An estimation of the stupidity of the monkey in the eyes of man is to be found in Aelian, where a monkey watches a woman washing a baby, and when the woman is away, the monkey imitates her and undertakes to bathe the baby in boiling water — with disastrous effects (Ael. *NA* 6.21). It is difficult to imagine a monkey performing all the activities in the manner in which Aelian narrates his story. An Aesopic fable which shows the closeness of primates to man can be seen in the fable of the monkey and the dolphin where the dolphin confuses the monkey for a human being (Appendix 73).

Mr. Tichaona Phiri, one of the officials at Chirundu Border Post between Zimbabwe and Zambia, where baboons steal from people and break into their cars, commented that '… the problem is that they behave like human beings and are very good tricksters.'[65] It is therefore conflicting, in light of these observations, that baboons should be presented as so gullible in myth. Perhaps the reason for this is that their perceived poor attempts at imitating man cause man to be envious of them, in my view, and so allocate the primates a position of stupidity in myth. Perhaps they are cast as lesser man.

[63] Yoerg (2001), 165.
[64] Mangena (2012a), 67.
[65] www.news.zimonline.com/baboon-terrorise-chirundu-border-post/ (Accessed 2 February 2012)

A universalisation of the depiction of primates can be seen in S. J. Tambiah's work on the Kachin people in Thailand who prohibit the eating of monkeys because monkeys are in a sense '...lost and degenerate human beings....'[66] That primates thrive on imitating people is supported by Yoerg who observes that '...the social primate uses her cognitive wherewithal to figure out what the other guy is doing with his cognitive wherewithal so she can do better than he can.'[67] The stories where baboons are duped by Hare to agree to having eaten the cubs of a leopard satirise this imitative nature of baboons, especially the song where they chorus, *ndiswi, ndiswi makudo*, 'it is us, us the baboons.'[68] In this case, the baboons stupidly and uncritically recite what the hare has taught them, and as a result the baboons are killed by the leopard.

In a discussion of how animals and humans differ in the way they relate to social organisation and the physical environment, Bourdillon mentions how a male chimpanzee thumps its chest at the sight of a threatening storm as a way of driving the storm away.[69] While this is stupid and ineffective behaviour, it is a habitual response to danger.[70] This type of behaviour influences the deployment of the apes as stupid in wisdom literatures. The question why primate behaviour is used in depicting erroneous human behaviour remains a puzzle as they demonstrate a highly organised cognitive behaviour in real life.

A Kalanga aphorism that belittles the mental capabilities of baboons reads, *Wudo dzosekana bukoro,* 'baboons are laughing at each other's faces,' when referring to foolish people laughing at one another (Tr. 56). This also reiterates the perception of baboons as models of foolishness.

[66] Tambiah (1969), 441.
[67] Yoerg (2001), 165.
[68] Moswela and Mothibi (1998b), 45–46.
[69] Bourdillon (1990), 61.
[70] Bourdillon (1990), 312.

In southern Africa, baboons are an object of many creative works such as folktales and proverbs. Although appearing dumb in most folktales, in their actual behaviour baboons have proven to be very cunning animals. The report from Chirundu border-post mentioned above describes contact between humans and baboons. The baboons are reported to be able to open cars, search handbags and even slap people.[71] In addition, reports of baboons terrorising people have been lodged in the Cape Peninsula.[72] When such evidence is, and presumably has always been readily available it is surprising why most cultures describe the baboon as stupid. Given this contradiction, it is necessary to ask ourselves whether the real behaviour of hominids informs their roles in the myths? The closest that one can get in solving this question is the theory of symbolic affordance, whereby primates symbolise stupidity among human beings, without them (primates) having to be stupid in the first place.

3.13 Can animals be clever/stupid?

It has been suggested that indeed animals possess *noos*, the equivalent of 'mind' or 'intelligence' by the time we get to Classical Athens. John Heath sums up in the following terms:

> 'The inner life of animals is presented almost identically to that of humans in Homer. Non-human animals possess the same psychological and emotional abilities as humans, but are lacking the ability to communicate by voice…. In other words, animals possess most of the elements of consciousness.'[73]

[71] http://www.globalpost.com/dispatches/globalpost-blogs/weird-wide-web/baboons-attack-zimbabwe-zambia-chirundu-border-post (Accessed 31 January 2012).
[72] http://www.capenature.co.za/docs/1918/Protocol%20for%20raiding%20baboons%20%283%29.pdf
[73] Heath (2005), 50.

Heath reasons the logic of animal consciousness in folklore by citing an example of the pigs that Circe makes of Odysseus' men. Although these men have been converted into the bodies of pigs, their *noos* is still human — although they cannot express it since their uttering has changed from *aude* (human voice) to *phone* (of pigs).[74] The point here is that folktale seems to portray animals as having the capacity to think.

The depiction of animals as thinking does not help us to answer the age-old question whether animals can think. Another view is that animals cannot be presented as thinking because they are not rational. Clayton argues that animals '... are not capable of planning, or reflection, or changing their environment in ways that may bring about better outcomes. And as a result they are not capable of participating in justice or in a city.[75]

I find it strange that primates should be presented as dumb, and foxes as cunning because primates have a higher cognitive wherewithal than canids. Scholars who hold to the State of Creation account would not agree with this view, and say 'the fox is wise because it was created as such: *Tjikalanga tjojalo*, 'the Kalanga language puts it so' — as it awards moral status to animals without paying any attention to the real question whether animals are portrayed as thinking or not.

A passage that has been read to imply that animals think is attributed to Archilochus, 'We have a haughty plow ox; he knows how to work but won't' Archil. (fr. 39 Edmonds). Here Archilochus could be implying the ox in a strict sense because in Greek culture there was a perception that

[74] Heath (2005), 49.
[75] Clayton (2008), 195.

animals could count, meaning that they could reason. To support this view, Newmner cites Plutarch (*De soll. an*. 974E) and Aelian (*NA* 7.1), both of whom state that the cattle at the city of Susa that are assigned to draw one hundred buckets of water each day refuse to draw one bucket more. Newmner thinks that Plutarch speculates on the meaning of animals' actions; the behaviour of cattle suggested that each animal accurately computes and remembers the sum.[76] The Kalanga hare is presented as possessing the ability to count, for example when he (or she?) eats the children of the leopard. In folktales, animals are presented as thinking, but we cannot use this as evidence to say they do or do not think in real life.

3.14 Observations and Conclusions

This chapter looked at the representation of the human temperaments of cleverness and stupidity, where animals are used as metaphors to signify and express the broad attributes of cleverness and stupidity of human beings. It was discovered, among other things, that both Archaic Greek and Kalanga cultures depict the fox as the epitome of cunning in their wisdom literatures. However, while the fox is clever in Kalanga oral literature, it is not superior to the hare.[77] Some animals, wolves for instance, feature in Greek literature but are simply not present in the countries inhabited by the speakers of Kalanga and so did not feature in their orature. The same can be said of certain animals that feature in Kalanga culture but not in ancient Greek. The major finding of this chapter was that the character of most of the depictions of the fox is derived from observations of its feeding habits (menu-driven intelligence), e.g. *stealing* goats and raiding vineyards, as evidenced in some of the interviews and written works studied. Another observation is that the deployment of animals in folktale does not necessarily have to be built on

[76] Newmner (2008), 118.
[77] Mbulawa (2001), 21–25.

the animal realities. Rather, the concept of symbolic affordance comes into play where an animal's behaviour does not correspond to its appearance in myth.

Likewise, the ambiguity of the hare in Kalanga proved to be a source of confusion. At times we see the hare being presented as a man, and at times performing female roles.[78] At times the hare goes berserk, killing and eating babies. This assaults the hypothesis that animals' characters are modelled largely on their interaction with other animals and human beings in the real world. Wazha Lopang's dissertation encourages us to read the hare as androgynous like Bugs Bunny, and I think this could make things somewhat easier.

> 'In Kalanga mythology the Hare becomes the medium through which human behaviour is scrutinized. The Hare, then, is not only a figure of humour and wit, but more importantly, the Hare depicts certain communal values and principles. The entertainment factor that the trickster tales embody serves as a precursor to other didactic functions.'[79]

In this case, Lopang reads the vague gender of the hare as a challenge to androcentric human societies. I think the androgyny of the hare owes something to its appearance. Without close scrutiny, one may find it difficult to determine whether a hare is male or female. Male and female hares look more uniform than, say, a male and a female lion. Ruth Finnegan summarises the appearance of animals in the following terms:

> 'When the narrator speaks of the actions and characters of animals, they are also representing human faults and virtues somewhat removed and detached from reality through being presented in the guise of animals but nevertheless with an indirect relation to observed human action.'[80]

[78] Kalanga does not have the pronoun for 'he' or 'she.' My conclusions on the varied gender of the hare are based on an observation of human gender roles.
[79] Lopang (2003), 35.
[80] Finnegan (1970), 35.

Animals were part of the Archaic Greek experience inasmuch as they still are in an average rural Kalanga setup, so that animals are a ready and available means to model human cleverness and stupidity in wisdom literatures. To say that animal characters are solely based on everyday observations of their behaviour by humans as they go about trying to look for food will be an oversimplification as the characterisation of Hare, Ape and Baboon prove otherwise. However, this criterion fits the character of the fox as typically cunning. The slinking gait of the fox as it hunts for food has attracted relevant epithets that are based on this observation. Foxes were identified by the habits of stealing goats in Africa, and destroying vineyards in the Mediterranean. This makes it easy to use the fox as a foil for a human cheat.

The question of whether the two wisdom literatures illuminate one another cannot be over emphasised at this stage. However, there are similar motifs in both traditions, for example, when a fox gets trapped by his midriff on account of food. Foxes (and jackals) in both Greek and Kalanga wisdom literatures are deceptive, and one can tentatively conclude that the two oral traditions do illuminate one another as far as foxes are concerned.

Another observation I made is that the position of an animal in the food chain also seems to have a bearing on the way it operates in these wisdom narratives. Scavengers like foxes, crows and jackals feature in both Greek and Kalanga wisdom literatures playing various roles of cheating. It has also emerged that domestic animals like goats and sheep feature as victims of intrigue. One might also look at aetiological stories that explain why a dog will always chase a hare, or why a lion does not bother chasing a hare that were handled in this chapter.

Chapter Four

Power relations

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter continues the critical interpretation of both Kalanga and Greek wisdom narratives' use of animals in the depiction and representation of human power relations. The research asks questions around the typologies of animals as they appear in the fabulous depiction of human political societies, asking how animal tales reflect leadership systems for respective societies. How are animals used to dispense political wisdom? Which animals are symbols of power, and which animals are symbols of weakness? How do the two bodies of literature assign literary roles to animals? There is careful incorporation of animals in similes and praise poetry, such that it becomes clear that animals are not merely used as poetic devices, but they do actually hold cultural capital.[1] By cultural capital I mean the way praise poetry is the poetry of power and the way power can be expressed in these two cultures by animal allusions. Mention of animal virtues and strengths is essential in a praise poem because it transfers an animal's power into the human world. In that sense the animals have cultural capital which is used by both artisans and poets to give their recipients cultural status.

Animals in wisdom literatures are based on the usual behaviour of these animals. Lions, leopards, wolves and boars are united by a reputation for aggression and violence, and are therefore the best representations of various types of power in human societies. A quick example

[1] This will be illustrated towards the end of the chapter, where I hypothesize on the ancient Kalanga kingdom of Mapungubwe using data from both myth (animals) and archaeological evidence.

is in Babr. 122 where a wolf chides himself for showing the traits of a physician, rather than being a butcher/cook (μαγειρεύειν, line 16) as he is known. A butcher represents violence and brutality that is involved in killing animals, while a physician represents kindness because he saves lives. The current chapter thus focuses on the depiction of human power relations through animals. Material is treated under four subheadings, namely the deployment of animals in images of the hunter, the guardian, animals as symbols of royalty (comparative) and lastly, as divine agent, so roughly in order of increasing social status or power: soldier, overseer, royalty, priesthood.

4.2 What is power?

Power is not easy to define. Stephen Lukes cautions that the quest to define power is futile because of the variations in what interests us when we investigate power. He also points out that what unites interlocutors in this argument is too narrow and formal to provide a satisfying definition that applies to all cases.[2] The *Collins Paperback Dictionary* s.v. 'power' defines power as the ability to do something; political, financial, social force or influence.[3] Power also refers to control or dominion or a position of control, dominion or authority; a prerogative or liberty. Power is also the ability to do work. According to Bertrand Russell, 'Power may be defined as the production of intended effects. It is thus a quantitative concept; given two men with similar desires, if one achieves all the desires that the other achieves, and also others, he has more power than the other.'[4]

[2] Lukes (1986), 4–5.
[3] McLeod (1986), 661.
[4] Russell (1960) distinguishes between power over human beings, and power over dead matter, and chooses to follow the former. Likewise, I am compelled to limit my view of power to dominance over other human beings, because wisdom literatures are centred on human relations, 25.

Hence, we can say that one person is more powerful than another because he achieves more intended effects than another person who gets only a few.[5] Further, in *Economy and Society*, Max Weber defines power as 'the probability that an actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.'[6] Weber's conception, like that of Robert Dahl and Russell, is 'power over,' asking questions like who rules whom?

Since the term defies any simplistic definition, I narrow down and limit my conception of power as referring to the capacity to dominate, that is, 'power over.' In my view, this incorporates all the categories of power listed in the introduction. For the purposes of this thesis, human power relations are classified under the categories of (i) political power, and (ii) physical might (κράτος). This is a parochial approach to any type of definition of power, but it helps limit power to particular working and definable categories which help shed light on the perceptions of political and physical power in the two wisdom literatures.

Among the animals to be studied, lions feature most prominently as symbols of power, together with leopards, wolves and boars. Michael Clarke thinks that in epics, the animal similes can be treated as one group. He bases his recommendation on the singularity of the poetic role which the animals play in epic, that is, as symbols of dominance. They help the poet to emphasise strength, courage and aggression.[7] It is always probable that a lion will overpower a bull, cow, goat, or a wolf overpower a lamb. In other cases though, cattle also appear as powerful,

[5] Lukes (1986), 19.
[6] As quoted in Lukes (1986), 2.
[7] Clarke (1995), 138 (esp. n.5); and Alden (2005) who considers the lion, leopard and boar as the 'mightiest of beasts', 335.

especially bulls, or cows defending their calves (e.g. *Il.* 17.3–6). So, while guarding against the generalisation that bovines are always symbols of weakness, this section will begin with an examination of the lion as a symbol of attack in Homeric similes and epithets. I must admit that the definition of political power has to be more than agreesion and violence, as can be seen in Machiavelli who emphasises the need for a ruler to also be like a fox, clever and able to avoid traps, which lions (in his view) are not. A ruler who is going to use aggression and violence all the time is not going to succeed; and this sets the difference between humans and other animals: humans have justice, and also reason, which allows them to choose among various kinds of behaviour as animals mostly cannot.[8]

4.3 The lion as a symbol of attack

Looking at power as physical attacking force (κράτος), and beginning with Homer, one observes the abundance of scenes that compare the marauding hero to a lion in the extended lion-attack similes which appear throughout the poems. Examples include *Il.* 15.630, where Hector is likened to a lion that wrecks havoc on a herd of cattle and the herdsman cannot defend his herd, and *Il.* 11.113 where Agamemnon is stripping Isos and Antiphos while Trojans look on hopelessly. At their moments of military glory, Homeric heroes are almost always compared to rampaging lions, eagles, hawks, wolves, leopards or boars,[9] while their victims cringe like confused sheep, fawns or cattle. Markoe also establishes the position of the lion in Homeric similes when he says, '… the image of an attacking lion who invades a herd of cows or a sheepfold is repeatedly employed as an extended formulaic simile for the aggressive onslaught of

[8] Machiavelli (1961), 99.
[9] Friedrich (1981) notes the prominence of the lion in Homeric similes, but also indicates that sometimes the lion is replaced by the boar, the leopard and the hawk, 120. Also, Alden (2005), 335.

heroes, both Achaean and Trojan, in battle.'[10] The two Homeric similes cited above represent dozens of such similes that depict the attacking hero in the mould of a lion.[11] In this case, the similes celebrate the hero as a killer. It is important to note that the similes may also be a commentary on war, whereby they are used to dehumanise the warriors, besides just celebrating them.

Before Homer, we see pictorial evidence of the attacking lion in monuments like the Lion gate at Mycenae**,** with the tradition of depicting the lion as a vanquishing and guardian figure being ascribed to Near Eastern origins. In his discussion of the appearance of the forceful lion in Greek Archaic Age visual art, Markoe says the lion is usually represented in the act of overcoming prey, a bull or calf and, less frequently, a deer (stag or doe), goat, or boar.[12] In the case of depictions of lion attacks on doors in the ancient Near East,[13] the lion seems to have functioned primarily as a symbol of royal power and authority. It becomes necessary, therefore, to accept that the Hellenic aesthetic owes some debt to the Eastern.[14] The image demonstrates an evolution from hunting prowess to that of a guardian. The possible origin of the lion motif is seen more clearly in literature.

[10] Markoe (1989), 88. Alden, (2005) divides the types of lion attack similes into two: the 'agrarian' simile that features villagers defending their livestock from lions, or similes where man is the aggressor, hunting the lion either for food, or as a livestock predator, 336.
[11] Alden (2005) indicates that there are more than twenty-eight lion attack similes in the *Iliad* alone, 335. On lion similes in Homer, see also Scott (1974), 58–62.
[12] Markoe (1989), 87.
[13] Alden (2005) notes that the Homeric simile where the lion protects its cubs is reminiscent of *Gilgamesh* 8.ii. 19, on one hand, 340. On the other hand the simile recalls Assyrian lion hunts where lions were hunted for rearing, 342. See also West (1988), 171, n.118.
[14] Markoe (1989), 88. See Alden (2005), 340 for the similarity between Homeric similes and similes in the *Gilgamesh* epic. See also West (1997) who notes Hesiod's debt to the Near Eastern wisdom traditions, 306.

It is not clear whether there were lions in Greece even as late as Herodotus' time, and the allegation that Xerxes met a lot of lions which attacked his camels when he was advancing through Macedon in 480 B.C. smacks of mythology, (Hdt. 7.125–6).[15] Strasburger notes how fabulous the lion would have been when he says, 'Der Löwe ist sicherlich in erster Linie, ein Symbol königlicher Macht.'[16] It is also interesting to note that while Alden seems unconcerned by the lions' neglect of other prey, Herodotus finds it strange.

Furthermore, there is debate on whether there were lions in Classical Greece, with some scholars who argue for the presence of lions basing their arguments on suspicious evidence like the passage from Herodotus cited above.[17] Christopher Mee indicates the presence of lion bones among the archaeological findings from Pylos, arguing that hunting boars, bears, wolves, lions and lynxes would have been a high-status activity.[18] However, despite this controversy, personal experience has taught me that people can talk about animals that they have never seen. Although lions live in Zimbabwe only a hundred kilometres from inhabited Kalanga places, very few Kalanga people have ever seen a lion in real life. This makes the lion culturally sanctioned, in the same manner in which baboons are used as symbols of stupidity, despite their large brain sizes and cunning activities discussed in Chapter Three above. Despite this seeming setback, I believe in the scientific evidence that comes from archaeological finding that marks the extinction of lions in ancient Greece even before the age of Homer.[19] Besides, Greek travelers would have met

[15] Hence I will not take Alden's view that there were lions in Classical Greece, which is based on a reading of Herodotus (7.125-6). Alden (2005) ignores the pertinent question why, in Herodotus' passage, the lions only attacked camels and nothing else, 336. It is either Herodotus or Xerxes who is giving a wrong account.
[16] Strasburger (1955), 17.
[17] Hull (1964), 102.
[18] Mee (2011), 114.
[19] Mee (2011), 114.

wild lions in the Near East, such that the question of the presence of lions in Greece need not be overemphasized.

Markoe also observes the arguments surrounding the appearance of the vanquishing lion in Greek architecture, citing other scholars' attempts to interpret the combat between lion and prey as an expression of the cycle or polarization of natural phenomena.[20] The graphic depiction of two lions overpowering and devouring a struggling bull in the reliefs on Achilles' shield especially at *Il.* 18.579–80 '...shows that in Homer such a motif was considered appropriate not only as a literary device but as a pictorial one as well.'[21]

It does make sense to think that the Homeric similes that feature the lion seek, among other things, to depict the irrationality of war and fighting.[22] While sufficiently depicting sovereignty and political power, the lion is also used to symbolise savage, uncontrollable violence and destruction.[23] Friedrich surmises the poetic role of the Homeric lion saying: 'Embodying noble daring and energetic strength as well as ferocity of attack and the recklessness of determined prowess, the lion stands out among the other animals used in similes of the *Iliad*....' [24]

In the *Iliad*, when Menelaus is about to duel with Paris, he is likened to a lion. In the extended simile, the lion has found prey (a buck or a goat), and will not be disturbed by dogs or vigorous

[20] Markoe (1989), 87.
[21] Markoe (1989), 89.
[22] Strasburger (1955), divides the symbolism of the lion in Greek literature into two; sovereignty, and savage, uncontrollable destruction, 8. Clarke (1995) on the depiction of Achilles' irrationality using the image of the lion (esp. 153–159).
[23] Kurke (2011), 423.
[24] Friedrich (1981), 120. Magrath (1982) also notes Homer's fondness for the lion simile, where lions are represented hunting, prowling, attacking, feasting and protecting their young, 205.

young men. The lion features as a symbol of aggression, while the goat and buck are its powerless victims.

ὥς τε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας
εὑρὼν ἢ ἔλαφον κεραὸν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα
πεινάων· μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει, εἴ περ ἂν αὐτὸν
σεύωνται ταχέες τε κύνες θαλεροί τ᾽ αἰζηοί·
ὣς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα.
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδών· *Il.* 3.23–28

As a lion finds a large kill,
Horned buck or wild goat, and gulps it
In his hunger, though harried by quick dogs
And vigorous young men, so Menelaos
Rejoiced as he laid eyes on Alexandros,
believing now he'd punish the wrong-doer.
(trans. Whitaker, 111)

In the *Iliad* 5.136, Diomedes is compared to a wounded lion as he returns to the fray with his warrior spirit (μένος) three times stronger than before. In this simile the lion ranges through the kraals killing livestock. Importantly for this chapter, the victims are sheep, which fall into the category of powerless animals that depend on shelter and human beings for protection.

ὥς τε λέοντα
ὅν ῥά τε ποιμὴν ἀγρῷ ἐπ᾽ εἰροπόκοις ὄΐεσσι
χραύσῃ μέν τ᾽ αὐλῆς ὑπεράλμενον οὐδὲ δαμάσσῃ·
τοῦ μέν τε σθένος ὦρσεν, ἔπειτα δέ τ᾽ οὐ προσαμύνει,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ σταθμοὺς δύεται, τὰ δ᾽ ἐρῆμα φοβεῖται·
αἳ μέν τ᾽ ἀγχιστῖναι ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλῃσι κέχυνται,
αὐτὰρ ὃ ἐμμεμαὼς βαθέης ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς·
ὣς μεμαὼς Τρώεσσι μίγη κρατερὸς Διομήδης.
Il. 5.136–43.

As a lion that a shepherd guarding wooly sheep in the
Field wounds, as it leaps over the kraal — he does not
Kill it, but only rouses its strength greater;
Thereafter, he does not come to aid;

But goes amid the farm buildings, and the unprotected
Sheep are put to flight. Now their bodies are strewn in
Heaps against one another, as the lion in its fury leaps
Out of the high fold — thus furiously did mighty
Diomedes rage against the Trojans.
(Translation mine)

The deployment of the lion as a metaphor for Diomedes' fighting strength is also emphasised by the use of the epithet κρατερός, which usually appears in contexts that reveal strength, e.g. *Il*. 16.624 and *Il.* 2.515. Another context which includes a lion is a simile that Menelaus relates to Telemachus. The simile compares the folly of the suitors to that of a hind who leaves her young to sleep, and then a mighty lion (κρατεροῖο λέοντος) comes and destroys them (*Od*. 4.335).[25] The aggressive lion can also be seen when Diomedes kills the two sons of Priam, Ekhemmon and Khromios. He kills them,

'ὡς δὲ λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορὼν ἐξ αὐχένα ἄξῃ
πόρτιος ἠὲ βοὸς ξύλοχον κάτα βοσκομενάων….'
Il. 5.161–62.

even as a lion leaps among cattle and breaks the neck
of a heifer or a cow as they graze in a woodland pasture
(Translation mine)

The consistency of the lion as a symbol of attacking power is also clear when Agamemnon and Menelaus are compared to two lions that devastate people's kraals, eating sheep and oxen (*Il*. 5.554–58).

In the *Iliad*, when a hero is at the peak of his strength, he is likened to a lion (for example *Il*.17.61–69 and *Il*. 17.132–37). Sometimes, like in the case of Hector's death, the animal

[25] See also, *Il.*16.25 for κρατερὸς Διομήδης.

symbolism changes to represent every phase of the hero's power or powers. The animal imagery that describes Hector facing the predicament of being killed by Achilles shows a diminishing level of power. In *Iliad* 22.93–95, Hector is compared to a snake, but the imagery changes during the chase, where Achilles is now compared to a falcon, and Hector to a dove (*Il*. 22.139–142). At *Iliad* (22.189–93), Achilles' attacking prowess is likened to that of a hound while Hector is compared to a fawn. Achilles' famous dictum, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὅρκια πιστά, / οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν, 'As there are no faithful oaths between lions and men, nor do wolves/And lambs have their hearts in concord'[26] (*Il*. 22.262–3) clearly casts Hector as man and lamb, and Achilles as a lion and wolf respectively. The antagonism of the animals provides an especially close parallel with Achilles' and Hector's situation, with an exact correspondence across the three pairs of opponents: lions versus men, wolves versus sheep, Achilles versus Hector. Wolves and lions have no affectionate feelings and do not make pacts the way humans do, '…and this is the relationship in which Achilles stands to the man at his feet.'[27] Thus, the passage also summarises the situations of the two heroes.

The basis for the comparison above is the violence of the hero who is being compared to a lion. As such, the lion affords us a glimpse into the psychological and social dispositions of characters (μένος) at a given moment. Thus, the lion represents bodily strength and a bellicose disposition in human beings. Clarke believes that the use of the lion image, especially, casts Achilles' anger as irrational, implying that, for Homer, both the mental and emotional state of the animal can be assimilated to that of the fighter.[28] Chandler has also suggested a possible connection between μένος and the verb μαίνεται, suggesting that the verb μαίνομαι denotes the overall destructive

[26] Translation mine
[27] Clarke (1995), 144.
[28] Clarke (1995), 146.

effect of a warrior in combat rather than denoting a mental state.[29] As such, Homer uses this image of the lion to demonstrate his negative view about war.

On the question whether animal feeding patterns play any role in wisdom narratives, Edward Clayton singles out the importance of food as the reason why animals kill each other:

> '...there is not sufficient food in the world for animals to be peaceful to each other; the need to eat leads the powerful to prey on the less powerful. But because human beings can adopt principles of justice and mechanisms for enacting them, this does not need to be the way that the human world operates. In a well-ordered city, all citizens can find enough to eat and can share resources so as to collectively benefit. Human justice is capable of protecting the weak from the strong and those who are honest from those who are not.'[30]

The above is a rather strange statement bacause animals do not form one homogenous group as humanity does, and so cannot stand to humans in this way. Lions are different from the antelope they eat. Lions do not eat antelope because there is not sufficient food — that is the food they eat. In fact when Hesiod says that there is no *dike* among animals he expresses a biased view. If it is true that humans do not eat each other, the same is true for other animal species, provided that we consider one species at a time: a lion does not eat other lions and so on. Taking all other 'animals' as one homogeneous group is a totally arbitrary move.

Despite this, one can still note that the predominantly fleshy diet that lions eat and the violence involved in securing the food definitely lies behind the deployment of the lion in myth. More

[29] Chandler (2009), 17–18.
[30] Clayton (2008), 196.

importantly though, as the similes attest, the violence (using teeth and claws) with which lions kill their prey lies behind their use in the depiction of the ferocious acts of the hero.

At *Odyssey* 6.130–36, Homer deploys a formulaic simile that represents Odysseus as a lion emerging from a thicket. This simile has attracted a lot of attention, with one group of critics thinking it is incongruent to the situation it seeks to describe,[31] and another group contending that the simile is deliberate and does not to seek to portray the violence that is associated with fighting in the *Iliad*.[32] Clarke observes that the juxtaposition of Odysseus with a lion seems to have a dislocating or even comic effect, just like the simile at *Odyssey* 4.787–93 where Penelope is compared to a lion that is seeking to find a way out of a party of hunters.[33] The latter example is the only simile which presents the lion as victim in the *Odyssey*.[34] Penelope's struggle is not physical but mental, and she is no less heroic in her struggle. On another note, the lion is an emblem of chieftainship as Penelope is the queen of Ithaca. In Magrath's view, this simile is well executed because it provides a parallel between Penelope and her missing husband. At Ithaca, Penelope stands for her husband, and thus the simile 'effectively draws together the separated husband and wife in the world of similes.'[35] As such, it is not off the mark for the poet to describe Penelope in leonine terms.

On the other hand, Justin Glenn thinks that there is an ironic twist to this formula, when applied to Odysseus at *Od.* 6.130–36 which juxtaposes martial and amatory vocabulary.[36] While

[31] These include Fraenkel, (1921), 69–70; Shipp (1972), 220–22.
[32] Garvie (1994), 115–117; Magrath (1982), 207–208.
[33] Clarke (1995), 141 and n.13.
[34] Magrath (1982), 206.
[35] Magrath (1982), 207.
[36] Glenn (1990), 113.

admitting that such symbolism is the stock-in-trade technique derived from the older martial epic,[37] its purpose in the epic can also be understood in a different way. I agree with Glenn on the observation that since *nostos* is one of the major themes of the *Odyssey*, then the lion image also anticipates Odysseus' triumph over the temptation that Nausicaa represents.[38] The reader is encouraged to remember Odysseus' previous encounters with Circe and Calypso.

The lion imagery on Achilles' shield at *Iliad* 18.579–86 also has a variant in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis*:

> ἐν δὲ συῶν ἀγέλαι χλούνων· ἔσαν ἠδὲ λεόντων
> ἐς σφέας δερκομένων, κοτεόντων θ᾽ ἱεμένων τε.
> τῶν καὶ ὁμιληδὸν στίχες ἤισαν· οὐδέ νυ τώ γε
> οὐδέτεροι τρεέτην· φρῖσσόν γε μὲν αὐχένας ἄμφω.
> ἤδη γάρ σφιν ἔκειτο μέγας λῖς, ἀμφὶ δὲ κάπροι
> δοιοί, ἀπουράμενοι ψυχάς, κατὰ δέ σφι κελαινὸν
> αἷμ᾽ ἀπελείβετ᾽ ἔραζ᾽· οἳ δ᾽ αὐχένας ἐξεριπόντες
> κείατο τεθνηῶτες ὑπὸ βλοσυροῖσι λέουσιν.
> τοὶ δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγειρέσθην κοτέοντε μάχεσθαι,
> ἀμφότεροι, χλοῦναί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες.
> *Aspis* 168–77.

> Also there were upon the shield droves of boars
> And lions who glared at each other, being furious
> And eager: the rows of them moved on together,
> And neither side trembled but both bristled up their
> Manes. For already a great lion lay between them
> And two boars, one on either side, bereft of life, and
> Their dark blood was dripping down upon the ground;
> They lay dead with necks outstretched beneath the
> Grim lions. And both sides were roused still more
> to fight because they were angry, the fierce boars
> And the bright-eyed lions. (Trans. Evelyn-White, 233)

[37] By martial epic I include both theories on the origins of animal motifs from the Eastern tradition, as well as the local Mycenaean aspects.
[38] Glenn (1990), 116.

In this passage, lions appear alongside another symbol of power, boars. The poet makes clear that the lion is the more powerful of the two, as two boars are already dead. However, at the end of the simile there is an indication of a certain level of respect for both boar and lion as the poet reveals that the fight is still going on, using adjectives like χλοῦναί (fierce) and χαροποί (red-eyed) for the boars and lions respectively. One may also make reference to Heracles' belt (ἀορτήρ τελαμών) described in *Od.*11.609–11, which depicts ἄρκτοι τ' ἀγρότεροί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες, '... the fierce boars and the bright-eyed lions.'

Later in the *Aspis*, there is a simile which describes Heracles as he challenges Ares. In this passage the lion image is an apt description of Heracles' demeanour. It is quite symbolic that Heracles always wore a lion skin as his emblem because of the power that lions represent.

> δεινὸν ὁρῶν ὄσσοισι, λέων ὣς σώματι κύρσας,
> ὅς τε μάλ᾽ ἐνδυκέως ῥινὸν κρατεροῖς ὀνύχεσσι
> σχίσσας ὅττι τάχιστα μελίφρονα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα·
> ἐμ μένεος δ᾽ ἄρα τοῦ γε κελαινὸν πίμπλαται ἦτορ·
> γλαυκιόων δ᾽ ὄσσοις δεινὸν πλευράς τε καὶ ὤμους
> οὐρῇ μαστιόων ποσσὶν γλάφει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
> ἔτλη ἐς ἄντα ἰδὼν σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν οὐδὲ μάχεσθαι·
> *Aspis* 426–32.

> …like a lion who has come upon a
> Body and full eagerly rips the hide with his strong
> Claws and takes away the sweet life with all speed:
> His dark heart is filled with rage and his eyes glare
> Fiercely, while he tears up the earth with his paws
> And lashes his flanks and shoulders with his tail so
> That no one dares to face him and go near to give
> Battle. (trans. Evelyn-White, 249–251)

The lion also figures in Phaedrus 1.5, in which the moral is '*numquam est fidelis cum potente societas*, 'It is not trustworthy to make acquaintances with the powerful' (line 1). In the fable, the

powers of the lion are clearly defined. The lion claims all four shares of the stag that the lion, cow, she-goat and sheep have killed and must now share. The lion will take the first share on grounds of his political power — he is addressed as king, '*Ego primam tollo nomine hoc quia rex cluo*' 'I will take the first one because I am addressed as king' (line 7). The second he will take because he is a partner, and '*...tribuetis mihi;/ Tum, quia plus valeo, me sequetur tertia;/ malo adficietur si quis quartam tetigerit*', The third (belongs) to me also, because I am more strong,/ The fourth follows me because it shall be bad for whoever/ Touches the fourth (lines 8–10). In this fable the lion is used to censure abuse of physical strength, and the fact that partnerships are vulnerable if parties are not able to exercise their rights.

Before moving on to the lion as a symbol of political power in Greek orature, one can observe that the image of the lion attack is persistent in Greek hexameter poetry. When taken together, the similarity of similes and epithets used to describe lions in both Homer and the *Aspis* illustrates how deeply embedded this image was in the vocabulary of the Greek poet during these times.[39]

4.4 Symbols of political power

The following subsection looks at the use of animals as symbols of political power. Power comes with responsibility. Hesiod reminds Perses and the *basilees* not to abuse in the following terms:

> τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων
> ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς
> ἐσθέμεν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῖς·
> ἀνθρώποισι δ᾽ ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
> γίγνεται· εἰ γάρ τίς κ᾽ ἐθέλῃ τὰ δίκαι᾽ ἀγορεῦσαι

[39] Markoe (1989), 89.

γιγνώσκων, τῷ μέν τ᾽ ὄλβον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.
Op. 276–286.

> For the son of Cronos has ordained this law for man, that fishes and beasts and winged fowls should devour one another, for right is not in them; but to mankind he gave right which proves far the best. For whoever knows the right and is ready to speak it, far-seeing Zeus gives him prosperity.
>
> (trans. Evelyn-White, 23-25)

Here, the poet gives the picture of a rapacious society where people live like animals, so to speak, devoid of any social cohesion, whatsoever – like the fishes and the wild animals in the passage above. Zeus thus requires people to exercise *humanitas* (*ubuntu*), and exercise fair dealings, unlike Perses and the *Basilees*, who 'prey' on their unsuspecting fellow citizens like Hesiod. This emphasises Δίκη as a gift to humans.[40]

The author of the *Rhetoric to Alexander* asserts that,

> ' … we are superior to other living creatures — we, upon whom divine power has bestowed the greatest honour; for appetite and passion and the like are experienced by all the other living creatures also, but none of them except man employs reason'. *Rh. Al.* 1421a.10.[41]

It is crucial to note the distinction between people and other non-human animals. We possess reason and they do not. However, this passage also demonstrates that it is possible to compare humans and animals even in terms of social and political philosophy. It becomes necessary

[40] van Dijk (1997), 131.
[41] Clayton, (2008) 'Although their ability to use reason lifts human beings above other animals if properly used, we need to understand humans in the same way we understand other animals, from a biological perspective, in order to learn the moral and political lessons that are found in the *Politics* and in the *Nicomachean Ethics*', 190.

therefore, to interrogate animal tales as expressions of human power-relations, asking questions on how animals are used to represent, rebuke, and transform human political power relations. Which animals represent kings? And which ones are ruled? What is the criterion used by human beings to assign animals their role in such literature?

4.5 Lion as symbol of political power in Greek literature

Homer frequently compares heroes to lions in the *Iliad*, thereby creating a connection between lions and royalty. The aristocratic audience of traditional Greek epic would not have been likely to miss this connection between lions and royalty.[42] At *Iliad* 10.23, Agamemnon is depicted wearing a lion skin (δαφοινὸν ἑέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος), while Menelaus wears the skin of a leopard, (*Il.* 10.29). It is important to note that both skins are emblems of their high offices. Younger concurs on the stateliness of lion models that were excavated from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, and notes that these lions show 'great power and spirit' through the flaming locks of their manes, and the masklike faces.[43] Going by Younger's observations, it seems possible that besides its violent disposition, the male lion's mane also affects the association of the lion with royalty, thereby validating the hypothesis that the observation of animals by people in real life lies behind the deployment of animals in myth. In my view, Mycenaean depictions of lions seem to be more based on a lived interaction with lions, although this does not necessarily filter down to Homeric depictions. At any rate, the lion similes in the epics, or at least some of them, retain an association with royalty, and most of the warriors with whom they are used are invariably chiefs.

[42] Clayton (2008), 183.
[43] Younger (1978), 286.

When one looks at the Aesopic tradition, Phaedrus 2.1 features a lion dealing justice to men, clearly in a position of power. The *praedator*, 'robber' (2.1.1) in the passage is clearly a man, and he is presented as falling beneath the lion in terms of the exercise of power. In fact, both he and the innocent wayfarer fall beneath the lion in the hierarchy of power. The lion freely exercises his will on both. In Phaedrus 4.14 a lion wishes to acquire a reputation for good dealing, and the first thing he does is to depart from his original habits, *pristina consuetudine* (line 3) of having an appetite for blood, *ut saturetur sanguine* (line 10–11). However, his old habit starts nagging him and he kills an ape for outwitting him in discourse. In these few fables, one notes that the power that the lion represents is of a tyrannical nature (survival of the fittest). The fables are cast with a strong political undertone.

However, Babrius (1) relates the story of the lion that is shot by a man's arrows. Here the lion is acknowledged as powerful, but he himself acknowledges the superiority of man. It is not the case that man is physically more powerful than a lion, but man is certainly more inventive.[44] Babr. (98) relates how a lion fell in love with a human girl and was deceived into losing his symbol of strength (claws and teeth), and how he got beaten as a result like Samson in the Old Testament. Babr. (101) features a vainglorious wolf who is nicknamed Lion. The wolf is obviously impersonating Lion's status. All these passages may illustrate the value that the lion has as a symbol of political power in Greek oral thought. The view of the lion as a symbol of political power can also be seen in Pindar (*Ol*. 11.19–20), where the fox symbolizes cunning, while the

[44] This contention between man and lion is also seen at Babrius 23. Babr. 82 relates the story of a lion who is flustered by a mouse running over his mane. Babr. (92) relates the fable of a timid hunter searching for a lion's tracks, who pales when he is promised the real lion. Other passages are Babr. (95), which features the stag without a heart, which has been discussed above; Babr. (97) which relates the story of a bull who declines to visit the lion to perform a sacrifice when the later does not see any victim for the sacrifice at the lion's den, and runs away on that account.

lion symbolizes power.[45] It is important to note that the lion's power is of the despotic type. The lion acquires this reputation from the way it kills other animals for food, hence adding weight to the observation that the position of an animal in the food-chain has an effect on the deployment of the animal in myth. Judging by the frequency with which they appear, the lion and fox seem to be fabulist tokens for tyranny and bad political leadership. Another example that features these animals is Solon, who adds something about the character of the fox; at any rate, the character of people who 'walk in/with the steps of a fox' (fr. i.10.5–8). If the people are walking *with* the steps of a fox, then the image is built on the observation of the fox's movement. As digitigrades, foxes have a peculiar way of walking on their toes that makes them quieter and quicker than most mammals.[46]

In my view, this way of walking among digitigrades contributes to the amount of attention directed at the fox's manner of walking.[47] In Solon's elegy, attention should be paid to the word ἴχνος (track, footstep),[48] but there is confusion as to whether the *demos* are following *in* the fox's footsteps blindly (like the deer in Babr. 95), or they are walking *with* the steps of a fox. Both options are grammatical possibilities (ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει) and relate to the fox in the genitive case — ἀλώπεκος. According to the context, it is more likely that the people are walking *in* the steps of a fox: that is, people who are tricked by a cunning person (Pisistratus). If the

[45] In Roman literature, animal symbolism appears in an intense passage of Plutarch's *Life of Sulla.* In this passage an opponent of Sulla fighting alongside Marius, Gnaeus Papirius Carbo describes Sulla as having political attributes in terms of a fox and lion. '…ὅτε καὶ Κάρβωνά φασιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀλώπεκι καὶ λέοντι πολεμῶν ἐν τῇ Σύλλα ψυχῇ κατοικοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἀνιᾶτο μᾶλλον' Plut. *Sull*. (28.3). Carbo says this phrase in light of Sulla's cunning strategies in the deflection of Scipio's troops, and his use of a few cohorts as ἠθάσιν ὄρνισι (decoys) to capture an even larger cohort from his enemy.

[46] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canidae (accessed 15 April 2013).
[47] Lum (1951), 13 'The elusiveness of the wild beast gave it mystery.…'
[48] Also repeated in a simile of a dog tracking a doe, used to describe Achilles' pursuit of Hector (*Il*. 22.192). At *Il.* (18.318–22), Achilles is equated to a lion who will track a hunter who has stolen his young.

Athenian people walk *in* the steps of a fox, then the vanity of their minds is emptiness and lack of ability to perceive a man's (fox's) tongue and shifty speech: 'ἐς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁρᾶτε καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἱμύλου ἀνδρός' (line 7). The adjective χαῦνος translates as 'spongy', 'gaping', or 'loose', and for the Athenian lawgiver, the metaphor χαῦνος . . . νόος, 'empty mind', refers to the mind of the Athenians as 'unsubstantial', 'empty' or 'frivolous'.

Going by my translation of ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει, the fox represents Peisistratus who used cunning to establish tyrannical rule at Athens. Fantuzzi suggests that when Solon said this, he had in mind Babrius 95 where a fox leads a deer into the lair of a sick lion and the deer gets eaten. Tyrants will lead the City State towards its destruction before the citizens understand that they are being duped.[49] In this case, I strongly believe that while evoking Aesop, Solon casts Peisistratus as both the fox (for he does his own canvassing), as well as the lion (since he wants tyrannical rule). So, effectively, the Athenians are following a fox that will soon switch roles and become a lion.

Some critics are more inclined towards reading the fox and lion as referring to separate people. Gottesman insists that the poem cannot be referring to Peisistratus' trick when he established himself as tyrant.[50] The basis of his argument is the inconsistency that results, '...for the sudden switch from the plural referent to a singular one [Solon fr. 10.5 and Babr. 95.36–7; 87–8][51] is out of tune with the historical context, as well as the grammatical context.'[52] My position is in line with Kurke's suggestion to read both the fox and lion as one person, based on her observation of

[49] Fantuzzi (2010), 335.
[50] Gottesman (2005), 414.
[51] My textual explanation.
[52] Gottesman (2005), 412.

Solon's penchant for assigning double roles, for example the identification of the demos as both foxes, (individually), and deer (collectively).[53]

In support of the association between Solon's passage and Aesop, Kurke also notes that '…the parallel allows us to fill out the fable background of Solon's allusive version.'[54] There is a chance that Kurke's reading of Aesop into Solon's elegy in dispensing political advice is valid. This tendency of assuming dual roles to characters allows for the possibility that Solon is also treating the fox and lion as one person — Peisistratus. In this case, the fox and lion are used as typologies of bad political leadership. The fox represents duplicity while the lion represents violence or tyranny. The socio-linguistics of African wisdom literatures reveal that a fable can be abbreviated so much that one only has to give a few hints at it and the audience will follow the link.[55] Likewise, Solon's allusion could invoke Aesop without having to narrate the tale in full in light of the urgency that Peisistratus' tyrannical government imposed on Athens.[56]

A fable of Phaedrus (1.2) relates to the rise of Peisistratus as tyrant at Athens. Aesop is said to have recited the fable of frogs when they asked for a king from Jupiter (presumably Zeus in the original). The frogs complained after Jupiter gave them a water snake in replacement of the piece of wood that had been granted before. The moral of the story is for the people of Athens to bear with the leadership they have, lest a more repressive regime (a snake) takes over. Hence they

[53] Kurke (2011), 156.
[54] Kurke (2011) offers an alternative and credible reading of Solon, incorporating the detail in Babr. 95 to come up with the following reading of Solon, 'Each of you Athenians individually has the cunning of a fox, but altogether you have the empty mind [of the stag], for you look to the tongue and the words of a wheedling man, but you don't at all consider the [dangerous] action occurring right in front of you' 155. Kurke's conclusion is that the Athenian *demos* are foxes individually, but deer (collectively), 156.
[55] Mhlabi (2000), 12.
[56] Gottesman (2005), 412.

must be content with the leadership that they have, lest they may find themselves in deeper tyranny. As can be seen in the history of the development of the fable, handling such topics as the badness of political leaders is not a safe exercise as the critics may find themselves in danger of reprisal from the powerful. As such, the critic may resort to veiling their criticisms by using fables, proverbs and other *gnomai* which largely feature animals to avoid censure.

Similarly, Hesiod's fable of the Hawk and the Nightingale is a typical example of the use of allusive language to address politicians. The contentions between Solon and Aesop against Croesus also give an idea of the place of wisdom literature (fable) in dispensing political wisdom.[57] Collectively, Archaic Greek animal fables of political import seem to convey clearly the lesson that the strong rule and the weak must obey or suffer. As Clayton remarks, '…lack of power means that the weak ultimately have very little chance of successfully resisting a stronger adversary — and in the fables strength almost always means physical power.'[58] While the wisdom conveyed may seem to be pessimistic in nature, the occasional defeat of the strong animal (Lion, for instance) by Fox, Hare and even man indicates that there are possibilities of dissent even in the tyrannical societies.

4.6 Kalanga symbols of political power.

Wazha Lopang relates a tale where Hare approaches Elephant and challenges him to a tug-of-war contest. When Elephant agrees, Hare also approaches Hippo with a similar challenge and Hippo agrees. In the end, Hare manages to make the two giants engage in a tug of war against each

[57] Kurke (2011), 133–4 (especially her analysis of the fable related in *Vita* G, ch. 99). '...Aesop was a figure who deployed his own very distinctive style of *sophia* through indirect fable advice....' 135.
[58] Clayton (2008), 181.

other unwittingly.[59] It is difficult to assess whether this tale is of Kalanga origin because it also appears in Mhlabi's collection of Ndebele folklore.[60] The closest one can get towards any categorisation would be to accept the tale as part of Bantu culture in general.[61] Maikano observes that in tales that involve the duping of larger animals by the tricky hare, the lesson is that one does not need to be big in order to be intelligent.[62] My view on the trickery of bigger animals by smaller ones is that such fables are a mild critique against tyranny in human societies. Mhlabi observes that the lion is the one who *rules* in the bush. He is the one who sets the laws and settles disputes when other animals have digressed. On the other hand, while the hare is small in stature, he is a surprising cheat and surpasses all animals in cunning.[63] Hare usually appears as a critic of lion and his style of rule.

Not everyone that has met or hunted a lion, but I am sure that most people get to know what to expect from a lion from folktales and hearsay (symbolic affordance). It is not true that a hare can cause a lion all the misery that the African folktale posits. A hare cannot break a human being's legs. The process of assigning all these victories to the small and weak animals has been termed 'inversion.'[64] In this pattern, the villainous are big and strong beings and they appear foolish.[65]

My earlier examples in Archaic Greek contexts do not suggest victory of weak over strong, thereby suggesting a more 'pessimistic' character to the Greek material. This pessimism is

[59] Lopang (2003), 12.
[60] Mhlabi (2000), 73–75.
[61] The story also appears in private websites and blogs where it has been labeled an East African tale. E.g. www.ronanmagalong.blogspot.com (Accessed 31 January 2014).
[62] Maikano (1977), 33.
[63] Mhlabi (2000), 12–13.
[64] Handoo (1990), 38–39.
[65] Handoo (1990), 38.

understandable since the ancient fable seems to have been associated with the low characters like slaves, as Aesop would have been.[66] However, it would be a generalisation to say that fables were associated only with slaves, because they were also used by free Greeks at the highest levels of society, for example Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* talks about how to use them in law courts. Herodotus, Aristophanes and Plato are other examples who resort to fable in their own writings.[67]

On the other hand, the Kalanga material suggests a more optimistic worldview towards politics and change, perhaps because Kalanga folktales and fables were/are not necessarily associated with the low classes of society, if any. A reading of Uncle Remus' tales reveals that the small man sometimes does challenge the 'big man' and emerges victorious. In Mbulawa's tale, *Lungano gwe Shumba na Lishulo*, 'The tale of the Lion and the Hare', mentioned in Chapter Three as an example of Hare's cleverness over Lion, it is also clear that most of Hare's challenge to Lion is constructed along the lines of criticizing Lion's rule and an exhortation to proper political leadership. The lion is punished by the hare for eating other animals. The fact that Lion cannot overcome the hunger and thirst to which Hare exposes him while Lion is enclosed in a pen, and the very fact that Hare has defeated him through cunning is a demonstration that in Kalanga thought, tyrannical leadership is not completely invincible.[68]

It is wrong, however, to assume that the lion is the ultimate universal symbol of power as there are other texts that do not feature lions as symbols of political power. The reigning lion is

[66] Van Dijk (1997), notes that one of the possibilities towards a sociological reading of Archaic Greek fables is that they '… served as a diplomatic means for the weak, who had to conceal the naked truth (a request or a warning) in order not to offend the mighty — for instance a king', 4.
[67] Kurke (2011), 47; Rothwell (1995), 233.
[68] Mbulawa (2001), 23.

curiously absent in the entire *Nau Dzabakalanga* text. In the place of this powerful feline there appears the elephant (*hou*), the rhinoceros (*nhema*), and the bull (*nkono*, superlative — *Gono*) as representatives of politically powerful people in the text.

The praise songs of various Kalanga kings listed in *Nau* do not use the lion symbol as an attribute of the king being praised. At *Nau* 1.1 King Chibundule is praised in the following glowing terms:

Inyika yaChibundule wali
Chipwihe lakapwiha hou ne nhema
Nazwikono ungapa mbotana;
Vunamakuni unoloba nhema ngeganu
Nyati kakuma ngelupa;
Nankami, nkami wedzisina mhulu
Nkami wamapfumba.

NdizwakaChibundule wali!
Chipwihe laka pwiha hou ne nhema.
Iye Mangula ngonkaka, vula ina nyungula.
Mayila hou, mhuka yezebe hulu.
Mbaki wamakomo asingangin'we ngechita.
Iye Chibundule wali!
Chipwihe lakapwiha hou nenhema.[69]

It is the country of Chibundule, Indeed! A refuge which gave shelter to the elephant and the rhinoceros,
With Zwikono like a calf in comparison.
Vunamakuni who strikes the rhinoceros with a big axe. And the buffalo he reaches out to strike with the shaft (of his spear).
And Nkami, the milker of those without calves,
The milker who milks before the calves have sucked.
These are (the praises) of Chibundule', indeed!
The refuge which gave shelter to the elephant and the rhinoceros.
He who washes with milk,
Because of the water having tadpoles in it.
The one who honours the elephant, the animal of the big ears.
The builder of the mountain strongholds which cannot be penetrated by the enemy.
He, Chibundule indeed!
The refuge which gave shelter to the elephant and rhinoceros
(Translated by Wentzel)

[69] Wentzel (1983a), 4–5. See also (4.13); 4.20; 5.1; 5.9, 5.13 for repetitions and variations of these praise songs.

In this praise poem the animals that feature as symbols of power are the elephant and rhinoceros. Wentzel concludes that the reason for this comparison is that these are '...two animals which cannot be challenged by any other.'[70]

To begin with, it has been suggested that the Kalanga regent's name 'Chibundule' means 'roaring like a bull', or 'sounding of the war horn.'[71] I will go with the first translation because there is textual evidence in support of such a choice. Wentzel's translation of the Kalanga is not satisfactory: 'He was called Chibundule because after he had found the country of the west of Southern Rhodesia he ruled it, saying: 'I am the male one, I roar and sound (the war trumpet) all by myself.'[72] I do not agree with Wentzel's translation supplied in brackets. Rather, I think it should read, 'I am the bull, I roar alone.'

Elsewhere, it becomes increasingly clear that the king's name refers to the roaring of a bull when Kumile describes the subjugation of the Bushmen's lands by Chibundule, '*Ndiko kabusa akuma (— konya, — bundula), kusichina chaanohla ebundula. Ndipo pakabva zina loti Chibundule*', 'and he ruled and roared (with *konya* and *bundula* being variations of the same), and he was now fearless — roaring'. This is where the name Chibundule comes from.[73] The 'roaring' referred to in this passage is the bellowing of a bull, for example before a fight. In Kalanga, the term *bundula* can also describe the kind of sound a lion could make, thereby suggesting an implicit connection between Kalanga royalty and lions, which are otherwise absent as I have mentioned before.

[70] Wentzel (1983b), 16–17, see n.19.
[71] Van Waarden (2012), 51.
[72] Wentzel (1983a), 14–15 (2.5.3).
[73] Wentzel (1983a), 12–13 (2.3).

Chibundule is also compared to an elephant and a rhino *Chipwihe laka pwiha hou ne nhema*, 'The refuge which gave shelter to the elephant and the rhinoceros'. The Kalanga passage is ambiguous as it can also mean that Chibundule provided protection *against* the elephant and the rhino.[74] In my view, the second interpretation where Chibundule provided protection against the two animals is more likely. This is because during those times, animals did not need to be protected from people. Rather, it was people who had to protect themselves from the animals. Commenting on the difference between humans and animals, Lefkowitz notes that the need for justice arose when men decided to live in close quarters for the very reason of excluding animals.[75] Either way, whether he protects people against the two animals, or whether he protects the animals themselves, it is clear that the two animals provide a measure of Chibundule's political power.

At line 9 (of the Kalanga text), Chibundule is addressed as the builder of the stone structures called Zimbabwe. These are dry stone wall structures after which the present day Zimbabwe derives its name. Van Waarden notes the series of debates among Rhodesians and other Western scholars which sought to classify Great Zimbabwe as a non-African work of art, citing Frobenius (1930) who identifies the structure as originating in the Near East and Asia, 'particularly Mesopotamia and India.'[76] More bizarre theories have also been brought up, with some schools of thought even contending links between the structure (Great Zimbabwe) and the Queen of Sheba. Some traditions trace the dynasty of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon in the Bible,

[74] Van Waarden (2012), 51.
[75] Lefkowitz (2014), 10.
[76] Van Waarden (2012), 31.

claiming that the Ethiopian royal family traces its decent from Sheba by Solomon.[77] This topic was handled in chapter two under the subheading 'Methodologies'.

In the present day Shona-dominated Zimbabwean political dispensation, it is also politically correct to ascribe these structures to mainstream Shona, Where the term Zimbabwe supposedly derives from the generic *Dzimba dze mabwe* — *Dzimba* (houses) *dze* (of) *mabwe* (stone).[78] However, there are no sufficient grounds to indicate any single group of people being the builders of these *zimbabwes.*[79] Hence the praise poem above tells us just who *else* built such structures — the Kalanga.

4.7 The attacking lion in Kalanga folktale

In T.M. Mbulawa's tale, *Lungano gwe Shumba na lishulo*, 'The tale of the Lion and the Hare' where Hare challenges Lion to a fight, the challenge is directed at Lion's physical strength. The way Hare greets Lion, *Dumila mbisana*, 'Hello boy' is an attack to Lion's masculinity, and authority: *Ndoziba zwibuyanana kuti una nyala dzinopitsha kwazo, ngono ndoshaka kukubudza kuti imi adzingandithame tjimwe,* 'I know very well that you have so much power (*nyala*), but I want to tell you that your power will not do anything to me.'[80] The type of power that Lishulo the Hare is thinking of is clearly physical ability to win a fight. This episode was handled in Chapter Three where I concentrated on the cleverness of the hare and the stupidity of the lion. However, in this instance, one can note that the tale also handles issues of physical energy, and

[77] See *Kebra Negast* (10th Century A.D.). This tradition is also supported by Josephus (*Ant.* II.X.2) who identifies Solomon's visitor as a Queen of Egypt or Ethiopia.
[78] Makoni, Dube and Mashiri (2008) identify the name as generic term to mean houses of stone, 378.
[79] Van Waarden (2012) notes that there are more than 420 stonewalled structures of the Zimbabwe tradition in Zimbabwe, 106 in Botswana, 27 in South Africa's Limpopo province and 4 in Mozambique, 72. These are too widespread to have all been built by one group of settlers or even one ethnic group.
[80] Mbulawa (2001), 22.

how physical strength can succumb to cleverness. When Lion is near death from starvation, Hare challenges him: *Dusa nyala ndidzibone!* 'Produce the powers and let me see them!' After this, Lishulo the Hare threatens to whip Lion's flanks which are full of other animals' flesh.[81]

AS Indicated above, besides their appearance in folktales, lions are surprisingly rare in Kalanga poetry and proverbs, although they usually appear in the areas of Kalanga traditional religion, where the *Shumba* (Lion) represents a class of cult adepts in the worship of Mwali.[82] In his praise poetry that celebrates bygone Kalanga kings in *Nau*, Kumile never mentions lions in any capacity. The absence of the lion in Kalanga wisdom literature invites further discussion. My hypothesis is that the lion's absence in Kalanga poetry is largely because the Kalanga do not have a reputation of attacking other people. In *Nau*, we are told that the Kalanga pride themselves as a non-violent people — *Bakaxamu yandazwa*, 'the people of the soft switch' (2.1), '…because they, the Kalanga, do not like war' (3.3).[83]

In *Nau*, the praises of Chibundule are, *Chipwihe lakapwiha hou nenhema*, 'A refuge who gave shelter against the elephant (*hou*) and the rhinoceros (*nhema*),' (1.2), while Nichasike (variously named Chilisamhulu or Chirisamhuru) is called, *ndiye mhulu yobupfuko/ Mhulu yoNsikanyika*, 'He is the calf that butts its way in,/ The calf of the Creator of Earth,' (1.3).[84] These praises,

[81] Mbulawa (2001), 23.
[82] Werbner (1976), describes the dances of the adepts at length: 'Adepts dance with a stick or a wildebeest's tail in a shrine's clearing or ring, sometimes like a fatted cow, an eagle, a game animal or horse, an elder bent with age, a marksman or hunter with a gun, a soldier on military drill with a rifle, or an afflicted victim', 8.
[83] Van Waarden (1991) notes that '…Mambo Chibundule is said (oral history) to have had a large army, although he is said to have ruled by a soft switch rather than by the spear. The non defensive architecture indicates the absence of enemies. All these factors indicate that Butua had evolved from a chiefdom into a state, and that this was a time of peace and prosperity,' 13.
[84] Poland, Hammond-Tooke and Voight (2003) also note the use of cattle imagery to metaphorically describe the great Zulu kings of the nineteenth century, e.g. King Mzilikazi, the founder of the Ndebele ethnicity was referred to

coming right at the beginning of the text illustrate the centrality of praise poetry and cattle both for Kumile and the Kalanga tradition. The important thing to note here is the choice of rhinoceros, elephant and calf to represent alternative leadership to that of the attacking lion. These images suggest that the traditional Kalanga were largely a defensive people rather than an attacking force.[85]

Further support for this nonviolent disposition of the Kalanga is also observed by Theal and Becker who note that the Kalanga were not a warlike people, although they had a reputation for witchcraft and magic.[86] It therefore seems to me that this lack of heroic spirit is represented by the absence of lion imagery in the representation of Kalanga royalty in poetry. It seems the attacking spirit is replaced in Kalanga by a religious fervour that rather prefers to deploy the lion as a symbol of the ancestors (religious authority) than of chiefs and warriors (military authority). The deep sense of the numinous among the Kalanga makes them rather prefer religious solutions than physical ones, as available data attests. Numerous legendary battle pieces between Kalanga chieftains are largely based on magic and witchcraft than on the single combats that characterise Homeric heroes.

In *Nau,* the Kalanga king Chibundule and his Nyayi/Rozvi counterpart Chilisamhulu/ Nichasike contend their powers using magic. At *Nau* 5.3–4, the decider in a contention to prove who is powerful between the two is based solely on their prowess in magic. Instead of the heroic single-

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as, *Unkone evele ngobus'emdibeni,/ Yal'ukudl'umlenze koBulawayo*, 'The black and white bull that appeared by its face, and refused to eat the thigh (of a cow) at Bulawayo' [my translation], 91.

[85] Van Waarden (1991), emphasizes the non-violent defeat of the Kalanga by the Rozvi, 10.

[86] Theal (1901), 358 and Becker (1962), 187. Quoted from Wentzel (1983b), 42, n.3.

combat battle piece seen in the *Iliad*,[87] Chibundule plucks a monkey orange (*damba*) from its branch, and challenges Nichasike to return it to its position, and when the latter fails, Chibundule replaces it with his magic. Chibundule then takes a wet ox-hide and commands Nichasike to nail it onto a rock, and Nichasike fails. Chibundule then nails the hide onto the rock (*Nau*. 5.3–4). Having failed to win in this instance, Nichasike then resolves to give his daughter Bagedze Moyo as wife to Chibundule so that she might discover the source of Chibundule's power. The woman got Chibundule to reveal his source of power (the hair on his fontanel). This she cut off and went with it to her father who then treated it with charms.[88] Chibundule then became weak and disappeared during a battle between the Kalanga and the Nyayi. This event marked the demise of the Kalanga kingdom, and they remained under the dominance of the Nyayi until the arrival of the Ndebele in the early 19th century (*Nau*. 5.7–13). Van Waarden relates the story further, noting that,

> '…the new Nichasike dynasty married among the baKalanga and adopted the Kalanga dialect but retained the 'r' sound instead of the Kalanga 'l'. In due time the baNyayi/ VaRozvi came to be accepted as baKalanga '*dumbu*' or true baKalanga and one should, therefore not consider that baKalanga were ruled over by foreigners' [89]

Another account relates how the Kalanga manufactured poisonous insects to unleash upon their enemies in battle (*Nau* 5.25–26). These tales inform us that the Kalanga were not a warlike people as their Archaic Greek counterparts and, closer home, they do not measure up to the Zulu, Ndebele or Swazi. Their forte was magic or witchcraft. This may help explain why Kalanga literature does not feature lions as symbols of power. This section has revealed that the

[87] See *Il.* 7.246–72, and 3.340–82.
[88] Van Waarden (1991), 10–11.
[89] Van Waarden (1991), notes that the reign of Nichasike ended in the 1830's when Mambo Chirisamhuru was killed by an Nguni army under their female leader Nyamazana at Manyanga, 11.

deployment of animals in oral literature does shed light on the character of a people in terms of war and fighting. Going by the available evidence, the Archaic Greeks were more of an attacking people than the Kalanga. The neighbouring Ndebele, an attacking people during those days, have Lion (Sibanda or Dawu) as totems for some people. In this way, animal symbolism is responding to the need to distinguish one ethnic identity from those of their neighbours/ enemies.

4.8 Leopard

Another animal that is usually deployed in the attack is the leopard, as can also be seen at *Iliad* 17.20, and 21.573. In the first passage, Menelaus chides Euphorbus for exulting too much in his strength, indicating that the three powerful animals in Homeric symbolism, that is the leopard, lion and boar, though strong, do not exult in their strength. The young hero has the strength and power that should characterize the Homeric hero, but he lacks the circumspection and restraint that should make a mortal man aware of his limitations.

Euphorbus is being a *hybristes* by over-exulting in his powers, something which lions, leopards and boars do not do to the same extent.[90] The μένος (spirit) of the leopard and that of the lion are not as high as that of Euphorbus in this instance, nor does the boar with the highest heart (μέγιστος θυμός) exult in its might (*Il.* 17.20–3). The second passage, *Il.* 21.573 is a simile which illustrates the ferocity of Agenor as he contemplates a single combat against Achilles. In the simile, the leopardess (curiously) breaks from deep cover (εἶσι βαθείης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο) and, despite attacks from dogs and spearmen, she fights on until she sinks her claws in her adversary,

[90] Clarke (1995) the beasts are symbols of the excess of μένος that characterizes the young and the reckless, 150. On the use of animals in the characterization of the youths' recklessness, see also MacDowell (1976), 15.

even when skewered on the hunter's spear (21.574–78). Here, one also notes the use of key heroic warrior word: ἀλκή. Althogh the name πάρδαλις, 'leopard' is feminine in Greek, and the animal is described as a femine species, in contrast to the lion, it is interesting that the poet uses a feminine symbol (πάρδαλις) to describe a male hero. Perhaps the feminine presages the ineffectiveness of Agenor in the fight against Achilles as the former is whisked away by Apollo.

In Kalanga folktale, the leopard features as an efficient killer when she kills the baboons that were cheated by Hare to admit to killing the leopardess' cubs when it was the hare that killed the cubs and made a meal out of them.[91] This incident was handled in the previous chapter under the heading of cleverness and stupidity, where the hare emerged as a symbol of cunning, with the baboons being the dupes. In my view, this folktale can also be viewed as a critique of the use of blind and brute force symbolised by the leopard. The fact that the baboons are the leopard's victims should be inspired by the ease and frequency with which leopards kill baboons in real life. Besides this, the leopard also appears in place names like Ntunungwe (around 30 kilometres North of Plumtree town, Zimbabwe), and indeed the Leopard Kopje Culture.[92]

4.9 Wolf and Hyena

Another Greek symbol of brute force is the wolf, which I pair with hyena in Kalanga orature because of the similar typologies that both animals represent. The wolf sometimes appears in Homer as a substitute for the alpha lion. In a simile at *Il.* 16.156, the Myrmidons are likened to wolves. In this simile, attention must be paid to the number of the wolves because they operate

[91] Moswela and Mothetho (1998b), 45–46.
[92] Van Waarden (1991) 'There is sufficient similarity between the Leopard's Kopje and the Khami period cultures to suggest that the one developed into the other and that they were the same people, namely the ancestors of the Bakalanga.' 12.

as a pack like hyenas, unlike the alpha lion which usually appears solo, as the previous sections have demonstrated. The wolves are described as ὠμοφάγοι (ravening) and they have unspeakable fury (ἄσπετος ἀλκή) in their hearts (16.157), a clear indication of the attacking heroes' violent disposition as Achilles Marshals the Myrmidons to rejoin battle.

At *Iliad* 16.352 the Achaean chiefs are likened to a pack of ravening wolves attacking kids or lambs. Their prey are described as ἀνάλκιδα θυμὸν ἐχούσας, 'being weak of spirit' (line 355), thereby giving emphasis to the victims' weakness, and on the large number of wolves. Another simile (not extended) appears in a passage that has been handled before — namely Achilles' declaration that there are no pacts between lions and men as well as between lambs and wolves (*Il*. 22.262–63). These few passages present the wolf as a symbol of brute force in Greek oral literature. Though not superior to the lion, the wolf is employed in connection with warriors and with chieftains. As it is, the Homeric use of the wolf simile seems to be reserved for those actions of combat where the heroes contend as a group, with the lion and leopard usually being used to represent one-man skirmishes.

There are numerous Aesopic passages that involve the marauding wolf, and some of them were discussed in chapter three where the wolf contended with other animals in the realm of cleverness and stupidity. In this chapter I focus on the appearance of the wolf as the epitome of attacking force. At Phaedrus 1.1, the way the wolf eats a lamb on trumped up allegations (*iniusta nece*, line 13) clearly shows the aggressive brutality of this canid. This fable demonstrates that

power, wickedness and malice triumph over weakness, innocence and honesty.[93] Once again, this assertion indicates the pessimism of the Greek fable where political change is concerned.

I propose that the hyena represents the equivalent typology as the wolf in Kalanga, as mentioned at the beginning of this section. Lopang relates the story of Hare who mistakenly kills his wife who had been abducted by Hyena to be the wife of the King, Lion.[94] In this instance, Hyena is presented as a pirate who performs dishonourable attacks that lack the heroism associated with the lion, for example abduction. This may be comparable with the story of the woman who gets eaten by a hyena whom she has asked to dance for her in exchange for a piece of meat.[95] Mbulawa relates another story that features the hyena and fox going to raid a farm for goats and sheep, and hyena overeats until he cannot exit the pen. Here, the Hyena represents the rapacious archetype, one whose attack is driven by greed rather than a justified anger that normally characterises the attacking lion and heroes discussed above.

Tr. 221 '*Unohla hhalima lisina mmele* 'You fear darkness that has no hyena (*mmele*)' is a proverb that is usually used to admonish fearful people. There is no lion here, but the interpretation is given in an equally riddling way, *Ndewunohla nkwala wemmele eti ngewehumba*, 'It refers to a person who fears the footprints of a hyena, thinking that they belong to a lion.' Here, the lion features as a more fearsome animal than the hyena. The use of these animals reinforces the superiority of the lion to the hyena in terms of attacking power and the

[93] See also, Clayton (2008), 180. Other fables that feature the wolf contending against sheep are Babrius 89, which is the same fable as Phaedrus 1.1; Babrius 113 insinuates that the wolf is rapacious when a guard-dog warns its owner not to pen his sheep with a wolf. At Babrius 132 the wolf fails to win a sheep over, another fable which truly belongs to Chapter Three of this thesis.
[94] Lopang (2003), 25.
[95] Chebani (2001), 34–6.

fear that is instilled by this power. The story also resonates with the fable of the wolf who called himself Lion discussed above. The similarity of the archetypal roles played by Hyena and Wolf therefore justifies the treatment of the two animals as representing one type of person or persona. However, there is a problem that comes with Solon's choice of a wolf to represent the liberator when he says:

> τῶν οὕνεκ' ἀλκὴν πάντοθεν κυκεύμενος
> ὡς ἐν κυσὶν πολλῆσιν ἐστράφην λύκος,
> Solon fr. iii. 36. 26–7 Edmonds.
>
> Wherefore mingling myself strength from all quaters
> I turned at bay like a wolf among many hounds.
> (Trans. Edmonds, 151)

Solon uses the image of the wolf to praise himself for his uprightness when he brought back, by *seisachtheia* (shaking of the burdens), all Athenians who had been sold into slavery because of debts. Solon uses the analogy of a wolf among dogs to describe his disposition. In my view, the dishonour that is usually associated with the wolf in folklore make it problematic when it seeks to describe a person of Solon's status and intentions.

This is because as a political symbol, the wolf exposes the limits of civic order. Kurke believes that in doing so, Solon might be evoking a fable of Aesop (Perry no. 348), where a lone wolf set up and then dissolved laws that were deviously meant to protect the commonwealth of wolves.[96] Similarly, Solon must be unshaken in his resolve, hence he likens himself to a wolf in his quest to correct the shame that Attica now found herself in.[97] Judging by the overall reputation of dishonour that is associated with the wolf, it becomes necessary to assume that Solon chooses

[96] Kurke (2011), 152–3. 'We might say that, in the final image, Solon opts for the role of the outcast — the lone wolf — so as not to become the pleonectic lupine lawgiver of the fable', 153.
[97] Hammond (1986), 158.

this image, perhaps unconsciously, that is, without really worrying about the consistency of the image with the current tradition. While a wolf may be distressed by a number of dogs surrounding him, the wolf still stands a good chance of survival, if he puts in enough effort, as Solon does.[98] Another way to look at this seeming contradiction is that the deployment of the wolf is just arbitrarily.

To some up, one may note the resonance between the poetic roles of both the Wolf and the Hyena, namely that they both represent some of the attacking animals in both traditions, namely the wolf and the hyena. The two animals are united by a lack of honour in their attacks.

4.10 Guardians (Symbols of defence).

This section looks at animals as symbols of defence, as opposed to attacking. At *Iliad* 17.60–61, Menelaus stands guard over Patroclus' corpse like a lion that stands above a cow it has just killed. This type of simile assimilates aspects of the appearance and personality of the warrior to those of the animal (ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς, 'trusting in his might' line 61).[99] However, the simile at *Iliad* 17.3–6 is unlike the first example: here Menelaus is likened to an inexperienced mother cow lowing over her first-born calf, '...but Menelaus is diametrically different from a cow in every other way', as Clarke observes. Although the two similes use different animals, the common ground is protection of the powerless.[100]

[98] Franco (2014) argues that the model of the wolf as a symbol of coherence is depicted as opposed to the dog's faithless vacillation, 134.
[99] Clarke (1995), 140.
[100] Clarke (1995), 140.

In *Iliad* 5.299 Aeneas is also likened to a lion as he guards the dead body of Pandarus whom Diomedes has just killed (note ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς, again). While he stands guard over his dead comrade, Diomedes (a better lion?) hits Aeneas with a phenomenally huge boulder that breaks Aeneas' hip. Similarly, when Sarpedon harangues Hector for the cowardice of the Trojans, he says they are not brave, ἀλλὰ καταπτώσσουσι κύνες ὣς ἀμφὶ λέοντα, 'but they cower like dogs around a lion,' (*Il.* 5.476). One observation to make from these lion similes so far is that the lion is used both as a symbol of attack and defence. The dog seems to gain a reputation of ignobility like the jackals at *Iliad* 11.474–81.

4.11 Powerful herbivores (Symbols of defence).

Besides the carnivorous animals, there are some herbivores that also depict human power. The boar and bull are used to represent ferocity in human beings, for example, before the death of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, Hector is compared to a lion, and Patroclus to a boar, ὡς δ' ὅτε σῦν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβιήσατο χάρμῃ, 'as a lion overwhelms an untiring boar in fight' (*Il.* 16.823). The important thing to note in this passage is that although the boar loses the fight, it goes down fighting, as Patroclus does. The key terms that describe the boar are ἀκάμαντα (untiring) and χάρμῃ (by the joy of battle). At *Iliad* 12.137–72 Polypoetes and Leonteus defend the Greek wall (ἀγροτέροισι σύεσσιν ἐοικότε, 'just like wild boars' *Il.* 12.146), and the two are as adamant as wasps or bees that have their nest (οἰκία, line 168) in a path and will not leave their home (δόμον, line 169) but stay to defend their young (ἀμύνονται περὶ τέκνων, line 170).[101] Although the current discourse is on boars, one can also note the extension of the simile to include wasps (predators) and bees as symbols of defence.

[101] See also, Heath (2005), 44 (Discussed in Chapter One, see 'Introduction').

Now, going back to boars, one notes that the fear or respect with which the boar is held among the Greeks has its roots in the danger associated with hunting the animal. This can be seen in the tale of the Calydonian boar (*Il.* 9.538–546), where the boar is described as χλούνην, ἄγριον and has white tusks, ἀργιόδοντα (line 539). It has also put many men on pyres (πολλοὺς δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ᾽ ἀλεγεινῆς), to use the words of Phoenix (line 546). The boar that gave Odysseus his scar (*Od.* 19.439–467) corroborates the dangers associated with hunting boars; hence this shows that the deployment of the boar in myth is informed by lived experience.[102]

Another odd thing to mention is that the rare appearance of the lion in Kalanga folklore is complemented by a total lack of any mythology whatsoever on the wild pig, which is available in abundance in buKalanga, and is hunted with equal ferocity even today. Alden explains the matching of the lion with the boar in oral Greek memory (epic) when she reasons that hunters would not be certain when they entered the densely vegetated territory of a riverbank whether they might encounter a lion or a boar.[103] It is a shame that while Kalanga hunters could well find themselves with similar fears, there is no orature at my disposal to corroborate this view.

Bull similes also appear in Homer as symbols of heroic strength. In the *Iliad,* such similes include one where Adamas,

> ἤσπαιρ᾽ ὡς ὅτε βοῦς τόν τ᾽ οὔρεσι βουκόλοι ἄνδρες
> ἰλλάσιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίῃ δήσαντες ἄγουσιν
> *Il.* 13.571–2.

[102] Alden (2005), 339.
[103] Alden (2005), 339.

He writhed like a bull that herdsmen in the mountains
Have bound with ropes and drag struggling along….

Other passages include *Il.* 13.703, where the Aiantes fight like ploughing oxen. However, the inferiority of the bull to the lion is seen at *Iliad* 17.542 where Automedon, with bloodied hands, is likened to a lion that has just eaten a bull. In this representation, the lion emerges as victor because it is on top of the food-chain, above both the bull and boar.

4.12 Weak herbivores (Symbols of defence)

In my view, sheep and goats usually appear as weaklings in oral literature because they provide easy prey to other carnivorous animals and human beings alike. All the wolf similes cited above that feature sheep are built on the relationship of the eater and the eaten, and they help establish the principle that the animal that is eaten (sheep or goat in this case) is usually deployed as a symbol of weakness, while the one that eats it is the symbol of power. Thus, one of the Aesopic fables (Phaedrus 1.1) also presents sheep as a powerless victim in folklore. We also find sheep used as a symbol of weakness where the Trojans 'bleat like ewes upon hearing their lambs.'

Τρῶες δ', ὥς τ' ὄϊες πολυπάμονος ἀνδρὸς. ἐν αὐλῇ
μυρίαι ἑστήκασιν ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λευκὸν
ἀζηχὲς μεμακυῖαι ἀκούουσαι ὄπα ἀρνῶν,
ὣς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὀρώρει·
οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμὸς θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,
ἀλλὰ γλῶσσα μέμικτο, πολύκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες.
Il. 4.433–38

But the Trojans were standing like countless sheep
In the courtyard of a rich man,
Waiting to be milked of their white milk,
Bleating continuously as they hear the voices of their lambs;
So, the clamour of the Trojans arose throughout the side army,

> For they did not have the same speech, but they were mingled,
> And their tongues were mixed
> As they were summoned from many lands (Translation mine)

Homer foreshadows the impending temporary setback that the Trojans are about to experience by depicting them using this image of defenceless sheep. One can note the contrast drawn between the silent Achaeans and the noisy Trojans who speak different languages. John Heath notes how unflattering this parallel is for the Trojans, 'To be compared to animals — passive, domesticated, female sheep at that ... would be a direct insult if uttered by anyone but the poet.'[104]

At Phaedrus 1.5, where the lion goes hunting in the company of the stag and the sheep, the sheep is clearly cast as a weakling, *patiens… iniuriae* (line 3). In *Vita G*, ch. 48 Aesop explains why sheep do not bawl when they are being slaughtered. He says that sheep are used to being led away when people need to shear their wool and milk them, so that they are not surprised when they are led off to be killed. Pigs, on the other hand, make a lot of noise as they have nothing else to offer except their meat.[105] Obviously, Aesop is telling a joke which has a lot of truth in it for the Greek society where sheep were shorn of their wool, and pigs killed for their meat. In buKalanga, sheep are never reared for wool, but the females do get some affectionate handling by humans when they are being milked. The similarity between sheep from Greek oral traditions and those from Kalanga is their silence when facing death, hence this commonality on the depiction of sheep as a typology for the patient sufferer.

[104] Heath, (2005), notes that the mixed language of soldiers who defend Troy creates a distinction between the disparate noise of the Easterners, as opposed to the disciple and resolve of the Greeks,' 66.
[105] Kurke (2011), 223.

When taken with some Aesopic fables that emphasise the silence of the sheep when it is being killed, it becomes clear that all stories that are based on the observation of animals' habits and tendencies cannot be products of 'subconscious thoughts.' In Mbulawa's tale, *Lungano gwe Phele ne Phungubwe*, 'The story of the hyena and the fox', the two animals agree to go hunting, but settle for visiting a white man's farm, purportedly to steal livestock. They decide to kill sheep because sheep do not make noise when being slaughtered.[106] This docility associated with sheep is also discernible in the Kalanga proverb *Unolumiwa nemwizi uti ayina meno*, 'You get bitten by a sheep that you thought did not have teeth'; meaning *Kunyalala kwenu kati mukati inyoka kene mbulayi*, 'a person may be quiet, but deep inside he may be a snake or a murderer' (Tr. 247). Once again, we see this persistence of sheep as a symbol of quietness. Overall, the major conclusion one can make is that sheep appear as the ultimate symbols of defencelessness in both Greek and Kalanga orature, based on their mild disposition in everyday life.

Although pigs are omnivores, (as in the Aesopic fable mentioned above) they do not feature in Kalanga myth. According to Phineas Moyo, there were domesticated pigs at Diba village in the last quarter of the twentieth century, [107] yet all oral traditions and archaeological reports on Kalanga dating back to about 1000 AD[108] do not mention pigs. This lends support to the view that pigs, like donkeys, were brought in by European settlers, thereby explaining the non-appearance of both animals in Kalanga wisdom literatures.

Another herbivore in Greek orature that is prey to the powerful animals and is used to describe the victims in heroic duels is the fawn. When the truce has been broken, Agamemnon harries the

[106] Mbulawa (2001), 6.
[107] Interview with Phineas Moyo (Diba Village, Plumtree April 2011).
[108] For example Van Waarden (1982), and (2012). It is cattle that are prominent in most cases — never pigs.

Achaean army by using symbolic language in the description of their cowardice and lack of fighting spirit. He says that the soldiers are standing dazed like fawns (νεβροί) that are tired after running across a plain (*Il*. 4.242–49). In this simile, the fawn is not a symbol of power, but, like the buck and sheep, it stands for the victim in the representations of the attack.[109] To sum up this brief section, small herbivores like sheep, buck, goats and fawns are largely deployed as symbols of weakness in both Greek and Kalanga wisdom literatures. The reason for this is their position in the food-chain as they are a natural source of food for carnivores and humans alike.

4.13 Mapungubwe

The historical monument of Mapungubwe in South Africa is important in this discussion. The name Mapungubwe is the Kalanga plural for 'jackals' or 'foxes' as seen in Khupe's Kalanga-English dictionary, which translates *mhungubwe* and *bhungubwe* for both the fox and the jackal.[110] The plural of *mhungubwe* or *bhungubwe* is *mapungubwe*. Others think that the name is Venda *Pungu*, 'to boil', and *-bwe* 'stone'. In the end, it is worth following the reasoning behind the thought-patterns for each. If it is not an animal, then Mapungubwe should not concern us in this thesis. However, if the architects and artists of the place were thinking of an animal (fox or jackal), as their manufacture of the rhino figurine, as well as the crocodile and buffalo figurines seem to suggest, then this implies the importance of animals in the kingdom of Mapungubwe.[111] If this is true, then Mapungubwe may mean 'jackals/foxes', and is therefore important for this work. For this dissertation therefore, I adopt the position that Mapungubwe is Kalanga, and it

[109] Also *Il*. 11.113; 21.29–30 where the twelve Trojan youths that Achilles has captured are compared to dazed fawns; and 22.189 where Hector is running away from Achilles and is compared to a fawn which is fleeing from a hound. The fawn may escape for a while, but it is bound to be caught, as Hector is bound to his fate. At *Il.* 4.243 and 8.247 Zeus' eagle carries away a fawn.
[110] Khupe (2008), 66 & 69.
[111] Huffman (2000) argues that the gold ornaments indicate the royalty of the people buried on Mapungubwe Hill, 21.

means the 'Place of jackals'. It becomes safe to conclude that the name Mapungubwe better represents jackals than boiled stones. While the rocky topography of the Mapungubwe region makes it possible for the 'boiled stones' suggestion, my assumption is supported by the abundance of jackals (and foxes, of course) in the region, and, perhaps owing to their mythical status as demonstrated in this thesis, jackals or foxes might have been deemed a fitter name for the place. All this is just speculation, but the speculation is aided by arriving at conclusions via the study of animals.

The appearance of the Mapungubwe rhinoceros leads head-on into the subject of the famous Mapungubwe rhino, a golden rhinoceros figurine that might have symbolized the ruling dynasty which was discovered at Mapungubwe.[112] The coincidence of the rhinoceros as a symbol of power in both oral (praise poetry) and archaeological findings compels me to conclude that Mapungubwe might be a Kalanga site, and that the rhinoceros is one of the most important representations of the Kalanga notion of political power.

Furthermore, the highest civil award in South Africa is the Mapungubwe Award, which is granted by the president of South Africa to a person who makes a distinguished contribution to society. The first people to win it were Nelson Mandela (Platinum) and F.W. De Klerk (Gold) in 2002. Attention shall be drawn to the design of the Mapungubwe Order. In the oval frame is depicted a golden rhinoceros figurine and the sun rising above Mapungubwe hill in the background. [113] In this way, the rhino has worked itself up even to the apex of South African

[112] Van Waarden (2012), 51.
[113] http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=7645 'The rhino is 'a gold-plated figurine formed around a soft core, probably sculpted wood, testimony to the excellence of human resourcefulness present in the Kingdom.' (Accessed: 27 August 2013).

politics and civil life. The sturdy build of the rhino and elephant should lie behind the deployment of the animals as symbols of power in Kalanga lore. It is important to note that Mapungubwe also traded ivory via the Eastern coast at Mozambique, and the importance of the rhino and elephant might also indicate the value of the animals in trade, rather that their mere physical statures.[114]

In addition, there are fragments of a buffalo recovered from the Mapungubwe site which are now stored in the metal collection at the University of Pretoria museum.[115] Kalanga orature also uses the buffalo as a symbol of royalty (*Nyatindume*, 'the male buffalo'). The praise songs of one Chombe Ntulunhulu, who is also one of Chibundule's councillors (*bakadzaxa*), include the statement, 'It is he, Vunamakuni, who is as big as the male buffalo' (*Nau.* 4.20). These parallels make it possible that Mapungubwe could be a Kalanga site, if one considers the importance and recurrence of the key animals in its tradition: namely the rhinoceros and the buffalo. These animals also appear in the praise of Kalanga kings of Iron Age Zimbabwe and other southern and central African nations. The prominence of the Nyathi surname among the Zulu and Ndebele, as well as Nhema (Rhino) in Zimbabwe helps to illustrate this significance. Behind all this, there is the figure of the jackal lurking in the name of the place — Mapungubwe. Taken together, this evidence makes a Kalanga identification more plausible.

If the place is Kalanga, then this places Kalanga culture in a level of very high importance. It marks the earliest date to which we can trace cultural development during the Late Stone Age of

[114] Huffman (2000) notes that the occupants of the K2 settlements produced more ivory objects and glass beads than any contemporaneous society in the region, 20.
[115] http://web.up.ac.za/default.asp?ipkCategoryID=14725&sub=1&parentid=10318&subid=12648&ipklookid=14 (Accessed: 27 August 2013).

southern Africa. After Mapungubwe, Kalanga culture continued to develop. Van Waarden dates Matanga, an ancient Kalanga cattle post in North-Eastern Botswana, at 1295–1445 and 1345–1495. Near Matanga, Vumba is dated at 1420–1580 (concurrent with the European Medieval Period). Van Waarden bases her conclusions on surveys of charcoal deposits at Matanga. These dates have a margin of plus/minus seventy five years.[116] The South African presidency acknowledges the importance of Mapungubwe as the most complex state in southern Africa. The website is also aware that Mapungubwe is the origin of the people, culture and foundation for the achievements of Great Zimbabwe. During its time, says the Presidency, Mapungubwe represented excellence of human thought and ingenuity.[117] Huffman says Mapungubwe is the most important pre-colonial farming site in Southern Africa.[118] If my observations are true, then this section demonstrates the importance and provenance of Kalanga in the development of southern African cultural thought.

4.14 Avian power (Hawks and Eagles)

Another strong contender in the representation of both attacking force and political power is the Hawk. The oldest written Greek fable is the tale of the Hawk and the Nightingale (Hes. *Op.* 202–212), '...in which the weak suffer at the whim of the stronger, and rebellion by the weak is futile and only brings more pain and the potential for destruction'.[119] One thing to note here is that this fable presents a number of interpretive problems, especially through the ambiguity of the personae in the fable.

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[116] Van Waarden (1987), 121 and 108.
[117] http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=7645 (Accessed: 27 August 2013).
[118] Huffman (2000), 14. He also argues that Mapungubwe was Southern Africa's first state, judging from the perspective of territory and social complexity, 22.
[119] Clayton (2008), 180; also Rothwell (1995), 235. Steiner (2012) Also supports that this Hesiodic fable is the oldest attested *ainos* in Greek literature, 3.

The major problem is understanding how the symbolism of the fable operates: for example whether Hesiod is the nightingale, with the kings being represented by the hawk, or whether the nightingale represents Perses while the eagle represents Zeus.[120] The reason for this difficulty is that the fable does not provide a sketch of the situation.[121] Van Dijk grapples with the two levels of meaning given above, and reasons that the hawk represents Zeus, while the nightingale represents Perses. He bases his conclusion on the several connections that exist between the hawk and the gods, which do exist.[122]

In Hesiod's fable, the hawk is clearly in a position of power as he is called ὠκυπέτης ἴρηξ, τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις, 'the swift-flying hawk, the long-winged bird' (Hes. *Op.* 212). Steiner thinks that 'The crisis imagined in this framing narrative then turns out to be as much aesthetic as political.' This means that the fable represents a crisis of authority which must be well-presented on the poetic plane and on the political one as well.[123] The Hawks are the *Basilees* in the eyes of the politically weakened Hesiod, with himself as the nightingale, but there is still a chance that the hawk is Zeus, with Perses being the nightingale.

This fable has also been explained along the lines of the poet versus the State, where the poet is the nightingale, and the State is the hawk. Lonsdale thinks that this fable has ominous undertones because of Hesiod's predisposition to treat birds in the context of prophecy, as can be inferred at

[120] Lefkowitz (2014), 8.
[121] Lefkowitz (2014), 8; also van Dijk (1997), 128.
[122] van Dijk (1997), 133.
[123] Steiner (2012), 3.

the end of the *Works and Days* (*l.*828).[124] Comparison of the Hesiodic hawk with its Homeric counterparts helps Lonsdale to arrive at this conclusion that the bird has ominous connotations, '... and there is no reason to think that the associations are markedly different in Hesiod.'[125]

In the *Iliad*, passages that feature the hawk (ἴρηξ, κίρκος) include 16.582–83, where Patroclus rushes through the front ranks like a hawk that swoops on jackdaws and starlings. After the death of Patroclus, the fleeing Achaeans are likened to jackdaws and starlings that scream confusedly when they see a hawk, 'the bane of small birds' (*Il.* 17.755–57). At *Iliad* 22.139–42 the swift-footed Achilles chasing Hector, is described in terms of a hawk that swoops down and attacks a dove. In all these three instances, the hawk signifies the aggressor, with its victims being doves, jackdaws, and starlings.

The hawk is presented as chasing these small or less powerful birds as prey, thereby confirming the importance of feeding patterns in the deployment of individual animals in similes. The flight of the hawk must lie behind its appearance as a symbol of heroic strength, especially in passages that call attention to speed. This can be further supported in the verses, 'The girls sank down helplessly, like birds beneath a hovering hawk' (Alcman 82). The hawk is also consistent with those of Iliadic warriors who prize prowess in battle above other qualities, and who, in the latter parts of the poem, refuse battlefield supplications of weaker victims.[126]

In Homer, passages that specifically refer to the 'eagle' (ἀετός) include *Il.* 12.201, where an omen featuring an eagle and a snake checks the Trojans' progress as Hector leads them towards

[124] Lonsdale (1989), 406.
[125] Lonsdale (1989), 407.
[126] Steiner (2012), 7

the Achaean ships. Although carrying a snake, the eagle is bitten by this snake until it drops it on the ground. Here, the snake represents the Achaeans while the eagle represents the Trojans. The events in the omen are a warning for the Trojans not to act like eagles, lest they be bitten by the snake (Achaeans). At *Iliad* 21.251, Achilles escapes the raging river as fast as a black eagle (αἰετοῦ . . . μέλανος), 'the hunter, quickest and strongest of all flying things.' In the first example, the ferocity of the eagle is emphasised, although it is superseded by the prophetic significance of the omen.

The second instance (*Il.* 21.251) relies on the image of the eagle to demonstrate Achilles' swiftness of foot.[127] The eagle is symbolic of merit wherever it is found, the lesser crows and jackdaws vain imitators of its unattainable prowess.[128] Archilochus also relates a fable of the eagle and the beetle (frags. 172–81W and 185–87W). In these fables that feature the eagle dealing mercilessly with smaller animals, just like the lion, the piquancy of the encounter depends on the oppositions between the members of the pair: the *ainos* juxtaposes the small and weak with the large and strong, the female with the male.[129]

Pindar uses an image of an eagle that has been put to sleep by the notes of the lyre. The eagle has succumbed to sleep despite its majesty (*Pythian* I.7). Murgatroyd's interpretation of this symbol is that the music of the lyre,

> '… is so soothing and enchanting that it affects the instruments of Zeus' power, temporarily quenching his fiery,

[127] Also, *Od*. (20.243). Cf. Pfeijffer (1994), 307 on the majesty of the flight of the eagle. On the way it gains its food (menu-driven power) see also (Pind. *Nem*. 3.80–81)]. The eagle is also a bird of Zeus (Pind. *01*. 2.88); *Pyth*. (1.6; 4.4). The eagle is the king of birds (Pind. *Isthm*. 6.50, *Pyth*. (1.6–7), where the eagle is portrayed as sitting on Zeus' sceptre (ibid).
[128] Steiner, (2012) 'The eagle, a superior, top-rank bird as indicated by its close relationship with Zeus…', 30.
[129] Steiner (2013), 6.

> spear-like (or war-like) weapon, the thunderbolt, and pouring a dark 'cloud' of sleep over his sacred bird and servant, the eagle, and it even puts Ares, the god of war into a deep, trance-like slumber.'[130]

The eagle's talons and wings are a symbol of power because it soars on its wings, and catches prey using its talons.[131]

In Aesop, the omen of an eagle that flies away with the Samian public seal (*Vita* G. Chs. 94–95), and later drops it on the lap of a slave is interpreted by Aesop as a sign that the Samians would lose their freedom, clearly because the eagle is identified as the king of birds.[132] There is also the fable of the Eagle and the dung beetle in *Vita* G. Ch.139, in which the eagle mocks the 'littleness' of the beetle, foreshadowing the death of Aesop at Delphi.[133] This fable also appears in Aristophanes (*Wasps* 1446–48), an indication that by the fifth century, or even earlier, Aesop had become 'good to think with'.[134]

The deployment of the eagle in Kalanga is interesting as it appears in *Nau* in Ndebele, and not in Kalanga. The praise song to the first Ndebele King, Mzilikazi reads:

> *Ngqungqulu yamadolo abomvu*
> *N'okutshaya amazolo,*
>
> Eagle that has red knees
> Because of beating the dew.[135]

[130] Murgatroyd (1988), 56.
[131] Also Pind. *Nem*. (5.21), *Ol.* (2.86–88), *Nem.* (3.80–82) and Bacchylides (5.16–30)
[132] Kurke (2010), 142–43, and 171–72.
[133] Kurke (2011), 37.
[134] Kurke (2011), 53.
[135] Wentzel (1983), 252–3 (6.9).

The type of eagle mentioned, *Ngqungqulu,* 'martial eagle' is the one that the poem specifically refers to. Variants of this Ndebele formulaic praise focus on the red knees of this eagle sub-species that usually read, *Ngqungqulu emadolo abomvu ngokuguqa egazini*, 'Eagle with red knees because of kneeling on blood.'[136] One can note the consistency of the eagle as a symbol of political power in Kalanga, Ndebele and Greek orature. The 'red knees' that the eagle possesses are true to its appearance, and are used here to explain the place of killing in the process of ascending to power. The eagle's wings also add to its veneration in Southern African praise poetry.

4.15 The Mouse as a symbol of the innocent sufferer

Now I shift focus and pay attention to the mouse, a character that draws sympathy through its lack of stature and inability to swim. The mouse is used as a symbol of the innocent sufferer in both oral traditions. There is a similarity in the deployment of the dying mouse in both *Nau* and in the pseudo-Homeric *Batrachomyomachia.* Both situations present man face-to-face with death by drowning, and thinking of himself as a dying mouse. In the mock epic, the dying mouse is resigned to its fate (pessimism), but swears that its race will avenge its death at the hands of the frog (line. 93). In *Nau,* when Chibundule is about to be defeated by Nichasike/Chilisamhulu, he asks his people: *Apa mbeba inolonginigwa ngevula mumwina wayo, ikabva ikachila kene?* 'If a mouse (*mbeba*) is trapped by water in its cave, can it survive?' To which his people answer, *Nenguba isachila, ngono inofa yakaluma mudzi*, 'Though it cannot survive, yet it dies biting a

[136] Mthombeni (1973), 16. The eagle appears in various praise poems to the bygone Ndebele Kings and warriors of the nineteenth century. While the eagle remains constant, it is important to note that its activities in the formulaic verse may change, depending on the activities of the warrior that it seeks to describe. An example is the praise song for one Mbiko Masuku, an ambitious dissident who sought to assume the Ndebele throne ahead of the legitimate King Lobengula, and was killed in his attempt: *Ngqungqulu eyabhul'ilalngabi ngempiko/Yatsha yaloba*, 'The Martial Eagle that beat flames with its wings and got completely burned, 13.

root' (4.21). In these two descriptions, it seems that a dying hero, or one who has suffered a sudden reversal of fortunes, thinks in terms of mice.

The death of the mouse in the hands of the frog that appears in the *Batrachomyomachia* also appears in *Vitae* (G+W, Ch. 133), where, like the Kalanga mouse in Chibundule's adage, the Greek mice also threaten revenge. Aesop uses the fable to indicate the benefits that his death should bring the concerned nations.[137] This would come from everyday observations of real mice and how they perish when they sink in water. Mice are chosen in both oral traditions as archetypes of the innocent sufferer because of their small size and vulnerability.

4.16 Divine agency

Sometimes the message conveyed by the lion attack in Greek epic is that of 'divinely conceived triumph,' for example *Il.* 11.480–81 'where a *daimon* or god directs the beast to its prey.'[138] Another example of divinely inspired fury is *Il*. 12.299–303 where Zeus urges Sarpedon to attack the Achaean wall using leonine terms.[139] Lions also appear in Kalanga religious symbolism. Phibion gives the name *shumba* (lion) as one of the traditional drums used in the production of Kalanga traditional music. *Shangana ne shumba*, 'meet with the lion', is a middle-sized drum that is played together with two other drums, *dukunu*, 'the small one', and a big one *tjamabhika*, 'What you have cooked'. According to Phibion, there is no significance in the naming of this

[137] Kurke (2011), 88.
[138] Markoe (1989), 89.
[139] See also, Friedrich (1981) for a discussion of gods using lion imagery to describe human valour, 121.

Kalanga drum after a lion.[140] However, van Binsbergen argues that the lion (variously *shumba, xumba* or *humba*) is also associated with rural spirits among which it is the greatest.[141]

This type of lion resonates with *Humba lume dzozibwa nebanadzo* (Tr. 439, male lions are known to those who have them) interpreted, again in a cryptic manner, *Bannu bana botategulu bana (matala) ndibo, bano ziba humba lume*, 'People who have ancestral spirits (platforms) are the ones who know male lions.'[142] A clearer description of the *xumbalume* (male lion), in this religious context appears in Kumile, who says it is a platform made of wooden poles, under which there are two stones and a tree which drips water. One stone is that of the dead grandfather, and another for the deceased grandmother. The dripping water is a sign of good life as dreaming about water is regarded as a good omen.[143] These last few examples reiterate the observation that in Kalanga the lion is more of a religious metaphor than a symbol of power as defined at the beginning of this chapter. This supports the observation that the Kalanga preferred religious solutions and interpretations to daily problems than physical ones, as was noted above.

4.17 Conclusions

To conclude this chapter, it has emerged that the conception of power as generally 'power over' is workable, especially in the animal world. Animals allow for nuanced questions around social dispositions of human characters. Greek orature from the Archaic Age is largely pessimistic, as opposed to the Kalanga one which is optimistic. This would be true not only for slaves but also for example children, who were also associated with fables, the lower classes, etc. One could

[140] Phibion (2006), 75. The names have no special significance and are only meant to differentiate the three drums.
[141] Van Binsbergen (1991), 309 and 330.
[142] See also Van Binsbergen, Nthoi, Mafu, Werbner
[143] Wentzel (1983), 42–44.

also imagine that it would be reassuring to the powerful to have some of the stories told to reinforce the idea that resistance would be futile. The reason for these differences is the 'authorship' of the tales. The Greek fable is pessimistic because it was largely associated with the *demimonde* who were largely slaves and other commoners and could not reasonably wish to change the political situations surrounding them. On the other hand, one may argue that the lack of pessimism in Kalanga is a result that folktales are not associated with any class of people, hence they show these traces of 'optimism'.

As symbols of strength, lions, wolves, leopards, bulls, hawks and eagles have proven that power in the animal world is defined along lines of dominion, with most animals proving their prowess by fighing as well as killing others for food. Homeric similes attest to the violence with which lions kill, juxtaposed with human savagery. It emerged, however, that some lion similes in the *Odyssey* are against the general outlook of the martial epic as they sometimes become amatory. While the *Iliad* is martial epic, the *Odyssey* is less pronounced on warfare, but deals mostly with human relations out of the context of fighting. The reason for this incongruence where the lion simile appears in the *Odyssey* is because it belongs to the formulaic language of epic. By and large though, the lion is conceived as the universal king. Symbols of weakness include sheep, goats, lambs, doves and other small birds. The mouse emerged as a common image for the innocent sufferer in both traditions, and it seems that this image is inspired by the way mice drown when exposed to water.

It also emerged that the depiction of the hero need not be confined to carnivores alone as bulls and cows also feature as symbols of defence in both Kalanga and Greek wisdom literatures.

Eagles are also presented as symbols of power in both corpora. I resolved that the reason why eagles are used as symbols of power (including Zeus' power) is the fact that they fly high and fast, and they also prey on other animals. By and large though, one must admit that the position of an animal in the food chain is a huge determinant behind its appearance in myth.

So far, the study of animals in folklore has proven that the use of animals is not merely poetic, but holds cultural capital as a potential avenue towards the solution of the problem of African or Kalanga origins and identities. Judging from the frequency of animals in both oral and archaeological evidence surrounding Mapungubwe, I am compelled to conclude that Mapungubwe is a Kalanga site. I hope that my theorisations surrounding the Mapungubwe and Zimbabwe civilisations help bridge the gap towards a better understanding of the sites.

Chapter Five

Moralising wealth: animals and economic didactics.

5.1 Introduction.

This chapter focuses on the ways in which animal stories are used to disseminate economic wisdom in Greek and Kalanga oral traditions. I ask questions on the rationale behind the deployment of a particular animal to play a particular role in the communication of economic wisdom. This entails looking at the use of animal habits as analogies for proper or improper human economic conduct. I also ask how the portrayal of domesticated animals is influenced by their everyday relationship with man, that is, their value as a source of labour, milk, or meat, clothing (for example sheep) and how this affects their deployment in wisdom literatures? How discernible is this in oral literature? The chapter also looks at the oldest known Kalanga site of Mapungubwe, and the artefacts that were excavated from the site, comparing the types of art to the existing Kalanga myth. In the Greek, I look at the occurrence of animals like horses and cattle in poetry and fable, asking whether their deployment is influenced by the animals' economic value to their respective societies. This chapter also gives insights to the economic functionality of animals in oral societies. Focus is directed at the economic relationship between humans and animals, as well as looking at animals and their wealth, for example the crow who loses a piece of cheese to a crafty fox in Aesop (Babr. 77), and the industrious ant and the lazy cicada (Babr. 140).

Animals are also used in the classification of human status. Such descriptions can be narrowed down to worthy and unworthy animals representing the rich and the poor respectively. Although there are numerous ways in which human status can be measured, in this chapter I narrow down and focus on status first, in terms of possession of wealth, and then in the method one uses to acquire the wealth. Also, some Greek places have names that derive from animals, for example (Boeotia, land of cattle). What one can observe is that this is a name that takes pride in the possession of cattle. Stephen Lonsdale points out that epithets for regions and individuals, such as Euboea, 'rich in flocks' … indicate that the Greeks liked to see one facet of their national identity in terms of animal husbandry.'[1] This is a pride not just in the possession of wealth but the good moral habits that maintain it.

Indeed, the interface between humans and animals can be seen in that Kalanga sometimes express their personalities as animals, especially cattle, for example *Inogwa ilinga hhuba*, 'it fights while checking the level of the sun.'[2] This proverb teaches the importance of being on time. Being on time is important because one needs to organise one's priorities accordingly, for example, in the area of farming, a subject that Hesiod handles in *Works and Days*. Another proverb that views people as animals is, *Yatsamba dope yangwa: Wawana bedla uswika unokola katatu wadlabo*, 'The one that has stepped into the mud has drunk: if you find people eating and get to eat three morsels, you also have eaten' (Tr. 178). In these two proverbs, *it*, the undefined article refers to cattle (singular), substituted here for a person in our daily discourse. Likewise, this illustrates that Kalanga literature presents people viewing themselves as animals — cattle in this case.

[1] Lonsdale (1979), 148.
[2] Diba interviews (15 April 2011).

In the literary tradition, Homer provides numerous accounts where animals are used as a value system. Commenting on the exchange of gifts between Diomedes and Glaukos in *Il.* 6.119–236 for example, Adam Smith noted long ago that commodities were frequently valued according to the number of cattle which had been given in exchange for them. The armour of Diomedes, we are told, cost only nine oxen; while that of Glaukos cost a hundred oxen.[3] Nestor also gives an account of a cattle raid against the Eleans (*Il.* 11.671–83) which includes other animals that sustain life, that is sheep, pigs and goats. Sheep are not traditionally bred for wool in rural Kalanga societies, but mainly for meat, milk and manure, hence there are some cases where a reader may encounter sheep being fleeced in Aesop, but with no similar Kalanga fleecing comparison.

5.2 Critical Approaches: Marxism vs. *Ubuntu*

The chapter seeks to expose the way animals are used to enforce good conduct in the pursuance of wealth, and employs the critical theories of Marxist literary criticism, and the African philosophy of *ubuntu*. The Marxist theory,

> '...sees culture as a phenomenon (ideology) produced by the dominant economic class as a rationalization for its continued dominance, [and] invites the investigation of texts as justifications of economic dominance. As reflections of it or as attempts to subvert the dominant ideology... recent Marxist criticism has tended to take a more nuanced view of literature, admitting the possibility of a more complex relationship between works of art and the society in which they were produced.'[4]

[3] Smith (1986), 127.
[4] Schaps (2011), 124–5.

Marxist literary criticism therefore enables the observation of animals in relation to their use in the depiction of class, in the method of acquiring wealth, and also as symbols of status (class).

The debate about whether humans should be motivated by self-interest or by altruism has occupied economic discourse for some time. Adam Smith sought to argue that man is motivated by self-interest, and that this self-interest benefits the community as well. He says, 'It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest.'[5]

For Smith, competition (amassing wealth) is the mother of success — indeed, it is the basis of the world economy (capitalism) as it is known today. To what extent do animals in the two bodies of orature under study reflect competition, and what parameters do animals suggest in the regulation of this competition? What does this do to the aspirations for altruism?

Against this backdrop, I also use Kalanga data to test some approaches like the philosophy of *ubuntu*, which propounds communality/ pluralism among rural African communities as discussed in Chapter Two. *Ubuntu* is the ideal, but a study of some Kalanga proverbs reveals traits of competition that is motivated by self-interest. As such, I expose the Kalanga economic didactic to this conceptual framework, asking whether the financial dealings in Kalanga folklore reflect this communalism and altruism, or capitalism. Although the word *ubuntu* (Lat. *humanitas*), is generic, denoting the being of the Bantu peoples who migrated from west Africa to central and southern Africa, it is curious to see how the concept would apply to the Greeks of

[5] Smith (1986), 119.

the Archaic Age.[6] Indeed, the word *umuntu*, like ἄνθρωπος (person), is all encompassing as it can be used to denote a 'person,' regardless of race, gender, creed, among other variables. To what extent are Classical trade rules susceptible to African judgement? Are Greeks *abantu* (people)?

Humanitas (being humane), being a word promoted by Scipio Aemilianus, in the Roman Republic era demanded that a man be an individual, a scholar, and a gentleman, but since he was already a man, he must devote his energies to the service of his country. [7] Both *ubuntu* and *humanitas* emphasize the goodness and oneness of mankind. MclLwain explains that the prime cause of people coming together is not weakness but rather a natural affinity for each other; '…for they are gregarious by an instinct that is inborn.'[8] *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, 'A person is a person because of other people' is a common Nguni maxim that encourages the oneness of mankind, and emphasizes a communal approach to life rather than an individualistic one.

Gnomai are also used to maintain an orderly trade environment because they place limits on consumption. In this chapter therefore, animals are reflective of *humanitas*/ *ubuntu* whose goal is the achievement of *eudaimonia* which, according to Socrates is, '… the state in which all is well with one's *daimon* (lot, portion, nature), in which one's nature is well arranged, one's constitution is as it ought to be…. Our word for *eudaimonia* is happiness.'[9]

[6] Veyne (1993) suggests that in Greek, *humanitas* corresponds to *paideia* and *philanthropia*, 342.
[7] Nybbaken (1939): 'Roman *humanitas*, fostered in the Scipionic Circle and most adequately expressed in literary terms by Cicero, included the ideals of both humanism and humanitarianism and ennobled the *Lebensanschauung* of those Romans who understood its principles and acted according to them,' 396.
[8] MclLwain (1932), 107.
[9] Versenyi (1963), 79–80.

As has been mentioned, some *gnomai* reflect individualism and self-centred behaviour during the acquisition of wealth. Most scholars of *ubuntu* such as Tutu, Mangena and Gwekwerere sometimes present a glossed picture of how things were done 'in Africa.' They present an Africa where everyone shared everything and a child belonged to the whole village. One of the findings of this research is that Kalanga proverbs rather present a different picture that encourages competition. A heuristic approach to the proverbs, especially those that are modelled to provide instruction in the acquisition of wealth should produce interesting results. So, this chapter takes a look at economic humanism via the agency of animals.

5.3 Faunal assemblage: humans and their animals

Livestock has a global reputation as a standard of currency (cf. Lat. *pecunia*).[10] In southern Africa, cattle feature in various transactions and spheres of human life. These range from their use as draft animals, as food, all the way down to their use in the payment of bride price, among many other uses. John Mbiti tells us that African peoples have many religious associations with animals, as evidenced by their role in myths because, together with plants, they constitute human food. He gives a list of examples that include the Zulu, who believe that man and cattle sprang from the same spot, and God instructed man saying, 'Let them be your food; eat their flesh, drink their milk.'[11] This connection is also noted by Poland (et.al.) who describe the interaction between man and beast as that of a symbiotic interdependence and affection as it binds the two together.[12] Thus, the utility of livestock in traditional African societies is comparable with that of

[10] Lewis & Short s.v. '*Pecunia*' note that the word can mean livestock in general, but cattle in particular.
[11] Mbiti (1969), 50.
[12] Poland, Hammond-Tooke & Voight (2003), 94.

Greek myth and reality, where the importance of animals in real life informs their deployment in myth.

There are conflicting views on the number of cattle in ancient Greece. It is not clear how many cattle there were in Archaic Age Greece. Hesiod gives a more realistic picture of the economics of his society than Homer does because he is writing from the Boeotian tradition of epic poetry which does not thrive on the nostalgia of glorifying heroic deeds as Homer does.[13] In Hesiod, the presumption is that the farmer starts off with no ox or oxen for the plough, and must acquire one or two of these to set off on his farming endeavours. Homeric passages of heroes sacrificing an ἑκατόμβη (a hundred cattle) for example *Il.* 1.447–469, contrast with the realities on the scarcity of cattle in ancient Greece, as illustrated by Hesiod. Further, Tandy and Neale consider the *Works and Days* to be 'a faithful formulation of Hesiod's world.'[14] According to these two scholars, Hesiod's description is reflective of the land disturbances that characterised the Hellenic world during the Archaic age, as can be seen in the case of Solon. However, on the need for justice, though, one may conjecture that Hesiod does give a realistic picture of the moral expectations of his society. In his binary world, it is clear that Perses is represented as the aggressor, and Hesiod as the victim.

[13] It seems there were not as many cattle in heroic Greek societies as Homer wants us to believe. A more realistic depiction of the number of cattle per household can be found in Hesiod *Op*. 405 where he advises Perses to get *an ox*, and *Op.* 436–438 where the poet tells his brother to get *two oxen*. See also Tandy & Neale (1996), who believe that the low number of livestock mentioned by Hesiod is a result of the fact that Hesiod's advice is largely centred on producing grain, 27.

[14] Tandy & Neale (1996) citing Millet (1984), who also wonders why Hesiod would want to confuse his audience by archaizing, deliberately, or misrepresenting social institutions, 8.

Besides the abundance of cattle in Homer, a study of the rest of Archaic Greek poetry seems to suggest that the most common domestic animals in those societies were goats and sheep.[15] Judging by the abundance of caprines in archaeological deposits, and using inferences from paleo-environmental research, it becomes quite understandable that caprines should be among the most common characters in the fables of Aesop like Babr. 3, Babr. 45 and Babr. 86.[16] At any rate, there are more goatherds than there are herdsmen in the Greek fable. As such, the abundance of cattle in the Homeric epics seems to be a nostalgic representation of what Archaic Age Greek society would have thought the heroic world was like.

On the other hand, Margo Kitts cautions against the presumption that the rituals that involve animals in the Homeric poems reflect the traditions as lived by the Greeks because this would give rise to many questions: Whose rituals? Which side of the Mediterranean, and so on? She concludes that such narratives are fictionalized — at least in part.[17] One can also note that the quarrel between Prometheus and Zeus is over a bull, and this adds to the mystification of cattle by allocating them divine attention, hence they are the ultimate but not ubiquitous symbol of wealth.[18]

Going back to Homeric society, cattle generally represent high value and status, as do horses. One may turn to the introduction of Whitaker's South African translation of the *Iliad* especially

[15] Mee (2011) notes that most animal bones in the earliest Neolithic age come from sheep and goats, although there were also pigs and cattle, 108.
[16] Babr. 3 is the story of a goatherd who hits and breaks the horn of a disobedient goat; Babr. 45 relates the story of a goatherd who finds shelter in a cave and loses his herd of goats because he decides not to feed them, preferring to feed the wild goats that he found in the cave — In the morning he was left with not even a single goat. Babr. 86 is the story of a fox that raids a goatherd's pouch and gets stuck between the roots of an oak tree.
[17] Kitts (2006), 221.
[18] Zhang (2009), 8.

on the discussion of *ilobolo* (*hedna*), which touches on the significance of cattle in traditional African society. Here one notes the similarity between the two cultures, namely the use of cattle in paying for bride price. Whitaker also compares African tendencies towards wealth with passages like *Il.* 6.236 and 21.79 for the economic and symbolic value of cattle in the heroic world.[19] Cattle continue to function both as bride price and as a means of sustaining one's family (wives), as illustrated in the interpretation of the Kalanga proverb, *Tjimidza mbvula wagala bwe yipato gulu: Unnu unolobola bakadzi akalinga danga len'gombe nembudzi*, 'He who swallows a marula seed trusts in a wide anus: a person who marries many women because he trusts in his many cattle' (Tr.64). The proverb means that a person should live within their means.

In addition, Solon gives an idea of what things Archaic Age people would have aspired for: he lists horses, hunting dogs and a friend in foreign parts as the ideal possessions, thus quantifying what people would have aspired for during his time, (fr.23 & 24). It is important to note that he does not mention cattle in these two fragments. In his elegy, Solon gives us an idea of the values of a rich Athenian. In his hierarchy of riches, horses and mules come after silver, gold, and fields of wheat. A rich person also has comfort in his belly and sides and feet, but unfortunately he will not take these things to the afterlife, nor shall they avail him to escape death, disease or old age (I.24). In (I.28b), he encourages the rich to be moderate in their aspirations. All this is evidence of the importance of animals as possessions in early Greek poetry.

In a praise of Hesperus, Sappho thanks him for bringing back stability. Hesperus brings back sheep and goats, and the child back to its mother (fr. 104a). This poem illustrates the presence

[19] Whitaker (2012), 57–59.

and importance of goats and sheep in Archaic age Greek society, not cattle. At fr. 16, Sappho says:

> Οἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον, οἰ δὲ πέσδων,
> οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπὶ γᾶν μέλαιναν
> ἔμμεναι κάλλιστον, ἐγὼ δὲ κῆν' ὅτ-
> τω τις ἔραται. Sappho, fr. 16 Campbell
>
> Some say a host of cavalry, other of infantry, and
> Others of ships, is the most beautiful thing on the
> Black earth, but I say it is whatsoever a person loves.
> (trans. Campbell, 67).

In the above quotation, Sappho employs the technique of bringing together disparate images (armies, ships) and making them link to one subject. Although this is not really a 'livestock' = wealth example, it does give an idea of her society's expectations regarding what constituted wealth. The illustrations also seem to be drawn from the aesthetics of aristocratic warrior-values. Here, the subject is the persona's love for Anactoria, but she mentions numerous objects before mentioning the word love: horsemen, soldiers and ships — and the quaint digression on the impact of love on Helen. Horses feature as a measure of value and status.

On the other hand, cattle are abundant in buKalanga. Reverend Mothetho gives an idea of what constitutes riches in Kalanga thinking, citing a proverb 'A man is a man with cattle.' He further reiterates that a man owed his dignity and respect to the number of cattle that he owned. He justifies this with yet another saying, 'A man without cattle is not a man, but a boy.'[20] If one does not inherit cattle from a deceased father, the normal way to earn riches is competition, as illustrated in the proverb *butamutamu gowanisa n'ombe*, 'contest gives cattle: if a person is

[20] Mothetho (2006), 2, n. 1.

working in the community, he can find ideas that can bring him cattle' (Tr.41). The interpretation explains the contest (*butamutamu*) in the proverb by explaining that it actually means that a person should work in order to get ideas about raising property (cattle). I will handle this proverb again in this chapter.

Catharina van Waarden's archaeological work on the collapse of the Kalanga State (Butua) indicates the importance of livestock during the Khami phase under the Togwa (Torwa) dynasty of Chibundule (1450–1685), as well as in the Changamire dynasty (1685–1839).[21] In an earlier work, van Waarden also notes the importance of cattle, goats and sheep at the Matanga cattle post in north east Botswana.[22] Therefore, raising animals is one commonality between the two oral cultures, which justifies their centrality in the economic didactic.

Richard Werbner also notes the importance of cattle in buKalanga when he states that at the time of independence, Botswana was the second poorest country in the world (ahead of Bangladesh), and Botswana's economic base was cattle production. The situation at independence reflects value allocated to cattle as symbolic of national wealth. Werbner says, 'Such "understood poverty", imagined in all its social reality, is a force in postcolonial wisdom that has shaped, or at least underwritten, a crucial policy for Botswana's distinctive path to economic growth.'[23] One can therefore appreciate the centrality of cattle in the land, which understanding will make him or her to better understand their central role in art. The growth of Botswana's economy was largely due to cattle. The people understood and appreciated the centrality of cattle in their lives.

[21] Van Waarden (2012), 3. These are eras of relative political and economic stability among the Kalanga. The year 1840 marks the arrival of the Ndebele people from the Nguni speaking south, whose military might and political organisation lies behind the demise of the Kalanga state.
[22] Van Waarden (1987), 112.
[23] Werbner (2004), 19).

Another saying that illustrates the importance of cattle is *Nlume kusafila n'ombe unofila nkadzi: Nlume unofila n'ombe, mbudzi kene lobola nkadzi*, 'If a man does not die for cattle, he will die for a woman: a man can die for cattle (*n'ombe*), goats (*mbudzi*) or marrying a wife' (Tr.401). The importance of cattle, and goats as an object for which traditional Kalanga people aspire is quite clear as the importance of cattle is equated to that of women. These are issues for which a man should be prepared to lay his life. This importance is equalled in Greek society by honour, glory, horses and cattle in Homer and Hesiod, and pretty much nothing else — except women (for example Helen, Briseis, Penelope, Clytemnestra, among others).

In an interview at his homestead north of Plumtree, Phineas Moyo gave an idea of the possessions in a rural Kalanga household in around 1971. The number of goats that belonged to Mr. Moyo's grandfather numbered in excess of two hundred, some sixty sheep and fewer pigs. The list does not mention the number of cattle. I believe this is a simple omission on Mr. Moyo's part, because he mentions that his grandfather also slaughtered 'a steer' during Christmas.[24] At any rate, the abundance of cattle, sheep and goats means these animals have a good chance to influence the morphology of local folklore.

Although the root for 'pig' is reconstructed for proto-Bantu and is attested widely in Bantu languages,[25] the distribution or prominence of domestic pigs seems to have been very limited, or

[24] Phineas Moyo, interviewed by J. Wills and the author at Diba village, Plumtree (15 April 2011).
[25] Bastin et al. (2002) The root *-gÙdÙ 'pig', seen in North-western and Western Bantu languages, is reconstructed for proto-Bantu with an expanded form *-gÙdÙbè for Eastern Bantu languages. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa, online database http://www.africamuseum.be/collections/browsecollections/humansciences/blr/results_main?Index=1494 (Accessed 5 December 2015)

hardly recoverable, in eastern and southern Bantu areas.[26] Pigs do not feature anywhere in Kalanga folklore. The question of pigs being indigenous to Africa has received very little attention, with some people thinking that pigs are not indigenous to Africa. The generic Kalanga name for 'pig' is *wotji*, and hence the 'bush pig' is called *wotji yehango* (wild pig). I believe that further research will reveal the real Kalanga name for the bush pig. In his study on the history of pigs in Africa, Blench argues for the presence of the domestic pig in Sub-Saharan Africa basing on linguistic and cultural evidence.[27] Also, *Ngulube*, 'Pig' is one of the Kalanga totems. Besides this, there is no other Kalanga mythology known to me that features a pig. This calls for further research at a later stage. So, this brief section illustrated the presence and importance of animals in both Archaic Age Greek and traditional Kalanga societies. I will now discuss the deployment of animals as symbols of social status in the two bodies of folklore.

5.4 Animals and social status

In wisdom literatures, animals also act as a parallel description of human social status, creating a hierarchy of 'worthy' animals for rich people, for example lions, elephants, rhinoceros, leopards, and buffalo and 'unworthy' animals like dogs standing for the poor social groups in the two areas of study. At *Iliad* 10. 23 Nestor wears a lion's skin, while at *Il*. 10.29–30 Menelaus wears leopard skin, and at *Il*. 10.154–5, Diomedes sleeps in leathern blankets. He also wears a tawny lion kaross (*Il*. 10.177–8). These forms of dress have already been discussed in Chapter Four where I concluded that this type of dress shows political status and importance. In this case, political power during the aristocratic hegemonies illustrated in the Homeric world always came with

[26] Blench (2000) notes that the only archaeologically confirmed presence of bones of domestic pig is in Zaire (DRC) and Ndondowane in Natal. Domestic pigs would have come from North Africa, up the Nile via the Sudan and Ethiopia where they would have intercepted the Bantu migrations, incorporating the DRC, and through the Zambezi basin all the way to Natal, 537.
[27] Blench (2000), 356.

riches and status. In the war situation of the *Iliad*, political power comes with τιμή (honour), even in the form of captive women like Chryseis and Briseis in the first book of the *Iliad*.

The economic patterns of the Kalanga society can be traced back to at least around the tenth century A.D. The significance of fauna for this society is also corroborated by archaeology, as seen in the golden rhino of Mapungubwe which attests to the important position that the rhino occupies in the representation of human social status. The iconography of the miniature rhinoceros attributes royalty to the rhino. The material used is gold, and the statue was discovered in a grave that seems to contain the remains of a leader or leaders, '...perhaps a king, his ritual sister and brother, or two kings. Whatever the exact status of the people, the burial goods reflect the great wealth controlled by the upper class.'[28] This scientific piece of evidence resonates with King Nichasike's praise, *Chipwihe lakapwiha hou ne nhema*: 'The defender who protected from the rhino and the elephant'. It can also be argued that it creates an implicit association between rhino and elephant with people who are well to do (*Nau*. 1.2). Therefore the importance of the rhino can be seen in a tradition that goes back as far as the tenth century A.D. This is based on the material used (gold), and the place where the model was found (a royal grave). Besides symbolising political power, the rhino also stands as a symbol of wealth, as the association with gold makes clear. The rhino and elephant are huge animals which are difficult to kill, but they are also important for their precious horns and tusks. The unifying factor why these animals are used to symbolise social capital is that they are inversely big animals (elephant, rhino, and buffalo), and ferocious (lion, leopard) animals. They are commonly known as the Big Five.

[28] Huffman (2000), 21.

5.5 Dogs as a symbol of low economic status

Like donkeys in Archaic Greek poetry, it seems that dogs can grant us more insight into the perceptions of the poor in orature. There are some Kalanga proverbs which clearly serve the purpose of satirizing low economic status and showing envy for the nobler class. In the Greek corpus, Aesopic fables and Hesiodic maxims also help to shed light on the position of dogs in this society.[29] Hence I subject this segment to Marxist criticism with the view of getting a better picture of how dogs are used to represent the class dynamics in each society.

The following is what I term a poor man's proverb*, Matukuta embwa anopelela mubukuse: Imbwa yabulaya muka inowopiwa makuse koga*, 'A dog's sweat ends in its fur: if a dog has killed an animal, it is given fur only' (Tr. 264). The interpretation given in the Traczyk collection is at a literal level, but the proverb can also be used to express the disgruntlement of a person who feels 'used' by another for the benefit of the latter. One can only imagine the amount of energy a dog uses to catch a hare, and after catching it, a human being takes over and claims the catch to be his own, giving fur to the dog.

This proverb is more related to one which says *Letja mvimi agwe nembwa iye: Unnu unozwidanila dzindebo muwunletjeni*, 'let the hunter fight against his own dog: if a person invites trouble for himself, just leave him alone' (Tr. 427). This proverb gives a picture of what an average Kalanga man and his dog may do when the dog has caught an animal: they may fight for the possession of the animal that has been killed. The lesson is about people who invite trouble upon themselves. Their relationship with their troubles is allegorised here as a hunter and

[29] See Franco (2014), 10–11; and Betinni (2013), 162.

his dog. At the literal level, one notes that the dog does not own anything, not even that for which it sweats. There are numerous versions of this proverb, for example the Ndebele say *izithukuthuku zenja ziphelela eboyeni*, 'a dog's sweat ends in its fur'. This leads to the question: Why are dogs representatives of the poor? I think this is because dogs are servants of human beings. As such, dogs are poor, and they are used to represent financial idiocy: 'Why is he poor? He's an Idiot! Why is he an idiot? Because he's poor!' Franco's observations on the choice of the dog to represent indigence suggest that the dog is a social subject because it occupies the same cultural spaces as humans, as opposed to other domestic animals like pigs and cattle, which are largely for 'use'.[30]

Another proverb which relies on the image of the dog says, *Tjembwa tjayo ngetje yinayina hhayi galentuzi seyina tjayo: Mbwa ayitolindila tjabikwa, koga inonda miha yose muzi*, 'A dog's business is to roam around, it does not sit in a shade as if it owns anything: a dog does not wait for food to be prepared for it, but it roams around homesteads looking for food' (Tr. 410). An ecological reading of this proverb clearly describes the way dogs get their food in these oral communities. On the other hand, a cultural reading illustrates the proverb as a critique on class relations. It becomes clear that the proverbs that I just mentioned are more characteristic of the lower economic class than the rich, where the poor use these proverbs to complain about abuse for the economic benefit of the powerful.[31] A proverb like Tr. 264 above is normally used to satirize the greedy tendencies of the rich who gain their riches by using the poor. The poor are represented by the dog in the proverb.

[30] Franco (2014), 15.
[31] Franco (2014) notes that cultural elaborations of the dog play around the animal's conspicuous presence in daily life, 10–11.

Similarly, Aesopic fables also largely feature the dog in the depiction of poverty. Babr. 43 describes a dog who gets thrown over the wall. It depicts dogs as being dependent on man for food, which is the reason for their ignominious depiction in folklore. It also means the dog cannot afford his own meal. That the dog is poor can also be seen at Babr. 110 where a dog indicates that it is always ready to go since it does not have any belongings. There is resonance between this fable and the Kalanga proverb that I just discussed above which says, 'A dog's business is to roam around, it does not sit in a shade as if it owns anything' (Tr. 410). Aesop's fable of the domesticated dog who has a bruised neck (Babr. 100) demonstrates the persistent use of the dog as a sign of lack. In this fable, one is left wondering whether the wolf's relative freedom is worth the hard conditions in which he has to live. S. J. Tambia illustrates that the Kachin people of Thailand do not treat the dog as a 'pet', like the English. The dog is treated casually, given licence and little care. The major reasons for this are that the dog eats faeces, and is also regarded as the incestuous animal par excellence because canine parents and children copulate.[32] The dog who loses his bone while trying to retrieve the bone's image reflected in the river (Babr. 79) satirizes greed and lack of circumspect in the acquisition of wealth.

In a passage that touches on many amenities that make a farmer's household habitable, Hesiod indicates that the κύνα καρχαρόδοντα*,* 'dog with jagged teeth' must be fed, otherwise the thief (ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ) will take away one's property (*Op.* 604). The epithet καρχαρόδοντα describes the jagged arrangement of the dog's teeth, thus emphasizing its appetite and its importance in securing the farmer's substance.[33] I think the reference to teeth also emphasizes

[32] Tambia (1969), 435.
[33] See Lonsdale (1979) for the importance of the dog in the protection of man's resources, 149.

the point that the dog must be fed, judging by the proximity of the epithet καρχαρόδοντα to the word 'feed,' thereby underlining the dependence that dogs have on human beings.

However, there are positive comments on dogs in Homer's and Hesiod's poems, where it seems there is a sense of camaraderie between people and their dogs. One can note the bond between Odysseus and his dog Argus, who dies the moment he sees his master returned from Troy (*Od.* 17.326–7). Argus is therefore one of the loyal characters who *waits* for the master to return. Collen Chaston indicates the different roles played by both Odysseus and Penelope in the *oikos.* Odysseus gathers the wealth while Penelope looks after it. This is an indication of heroic conduct, where the male is a buccaneer, and the female is the guard-dog, so to speak. This also shows that their roles in the household are not antagonistic, but complementary. In this case Argus' faithfulness and loyalty is juxtaposed with that of Penelope, thereby presenting the dog as a symbol for guarding and preserving current property as well.[34]

To add on, one can begin by looking at the depiction of the dog as a character, asking questions around the economic decisions that the dog makes. Both wisdom traditions understand the actions of the dog as reflecting thought for short-term objectives (today's meat), and no investment, no taking care of, no storing up (vs. Ant in Babr. 140). He is a servant — the good news is that his master will take care of him, but the bad news is that without a master he cannot take care of himself.

[34] Chaston (2002), 15.

5.6 Ethics of acquiring wealth: animals as economic agents in folklore.

In the Aesopic tradition, the fox, which emerged as the typical trickster in both Greek and Kalanga orature (Chapter Three) features as an image for discouraging treachery in the acquisition of wealth. In the fable of the fox who cunningly steals cheese from a crow (Babr. 77), the tradition seems to be holding dishonest business practices up for censure. However, one may also read this fable as an encouragement to be circumspect in business deals. The crow in this fable may represent a person who is not astute in the handling of business deals. In this case, cheese represents the object for which the two agents are contending. Fables are often ambiguous as to what they are teaching — this is why Rosseau in *Emile* says that they should not be used to educate children. So the message of the fox, the crow and the cheese depends on whether the reader puts themselves in the position of the fox (who wins) or the crow (who does not).

The performance of economic wisdom by animals first appears in the fable of Hawk and Nightingale in Hesiod where a hawk has caught a nightingale and intends to eat it (*Op.* 202–12). When subjected to a Marxist reading, the economic lesson in this fable is that one has to be fair in amassing wealth, and not to use force against the weak, nor to use cunning.[35] This passage illustrates that moving towards the 'good' is inherently worth doing, but has constraints. The proponent of honest labour is the conflation of ἀηδών, nightingale (203) and the ἀοιδός, poet-singer (208). In this case, the Nightingale is an innocent victim while the hawk is the aggressor.[36] Verdenius agrees with M. L. West's observation that although the dove is the usual prey for the hawk, Hesiod prefers the nightingale because it represents himself. Verdenius further states that

[35] Zhang (2009), 6.
[36] Verdenius (1985),121; West (1978).

this view is supported by Bacchylides (3.98) and other poets who call themselves nightingales.[37] This makes the nightingale a strong poetic device, especially when one looks at the conflation of the names ἀηδών (nightingale), and ἀοιδός (poet).[38] A poet and his audience would enjoy the word-play. Later poets adopted the symbol of the nightingale, and to-date, the bird still holds legendary status even where it does not come with financial lessons. This is reiterated by A. R. Chandler who says the nightingale plays a more important role in European literature than any other bird.[39]

Going back to the fable in Hesiod, the lesson is that Zeus is there to make sure that such practices are not allowed to flourish within human societies. The poet makes this clear in his choice of these two birds as agents in the economic didactic. If people behave rapaciously like the hawk and seek ill-gotten gains like the hawk, then there will be no stability; Zeus will be angry. In Hesiod's real human society, 'Ill-gotten gains are those that are gotten by a servant without work or by a king by judging unfairly.'[40] Thus, through the image of the hawk, the poet holds up this rapacity to censure. There have been a lot of discussions around the symbolism of this fable, as the previous chapter of this thesis revealed. For example, Fraser sees the fable of Hawk and Nightingale as one of the dualities that Hesiod is fond of using — the good brother versus the idle brother, the good Strife versus the bad Strife, among other dualities.[41] Thus the fable is a criticism of the way Perses has acquired Hesiod's property (bribing the judiciary). Verdenius notes that the nightingale's situation is indicative of the fact that Hesiod has lost the legal contest with his brother, noting that the hawk represents both Perses and the judges since they (judges)

[37] Verdenius (1985), 121.
[38] Lonsdale (1989), 405. Also van Dijk (1997), 129, and Lefkowitz (2014), 8.
[39] Chandler, (1934), 78.
[40] Schaps (2003), 135, n.20.
[41] Fraser (2011), 23–24.

have allowed themselves to be bribed.[42] The nightingale performs the role of food (prey), and the hawk is the eater of the food, thus affirming my hypothesis on the importance of the animals' feeding patterns in myth. Summarily, the fable can also be read as a critique on using violence as a way of acquiring wealth.[43] For Hesiod, men generally ought to work with justice, for Zeus is the father of *Dike*, and violating justice is like raping a daughter of Zeus, for which offence men are liable to punishment.

Furthermore, in *Works and Days*, Hesiod uses animal symbolism to justify the need for justice and fair dealing:

> τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων
> ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς
> ἐσθέμεν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῖς·
> ἀνθρώποισι δ᾽ ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
> γίγνεται· εἰ γάρ τίς κ᾽ ἐθέλῃ τὰ δίκαι᾽ ἀγορεῦσαι
> γιγνώσκων, τῷ μέν τ᾽ ὄλβον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.
>
> Hes. *Op.* 276–286.

> For the son of Cronos has ordained this law for man, that fishes and beasts and winged fowls should devour one another, for right is not in them; but to manking he gave right which proves far the best. For whoever knows the right and is ready to speak it, far-seeing Zeus gives him prosperity. (trans. Evelyn-White, 23–25)

In the above, the poet envisages a rapacious society, a society where people live like animals, so to speak, devoid of any social cohesion, whatsoever — like the fishes and the wild animals in the passage above. This comparison illustrates a society where people 'prey' on each other, as big

[42] Verdenius (1985), 121–2.
[43] Other interpretations include viewing the nightingale as a symbol of love, and of musical skill, see. Chandler (1931), 84.

fish will swallow small fish, or a stronger animal may kill and eat a weaker one. H. Seiler traces the distinction between animals and humans to Hesiod earliest.[44] In Hesiod, we also note the importance of feeding patterns in the construction of the images of the hawk and the nightingale. Zeus thus requires people to exercise *philanthropia* (*ubuntu*), and perform fair dealings, unlike Perses and the *basilees*, who behave like animals and 'prey' on their unsuspecting fellow citizens like Hesiod. All Archaic Age poets are agreed that '...well-gotten gains are quite acceptable.'[45]

Further, bees are used to symbolise the hard worker in Archaic Greek poetry, for example where Hesiod uses the bee simile to explain that man must work because the gods become angry with idle people. In the simile, the sluggard is compared to drones:

> οἵ τε μελισσάων κάματον τρύχουσιν ἀεργοὶ
> ἔσθοντες. Hes. *Op.* 305–06
>
> …who waste the labour of the bees, eating without working.

Bees represent industry. Anyone who has eaten honey will understand why bees are held with such high esteem in orature — honey is sweet. Unfortunately, the Kalanga orature consulted for this research does not yield much in terms of bees.

The Aesopic tradition is also rich in fables that use animal agents to give advice on how to earn riches. The story of the fox that has a sheep taken away from it by a lion lays criticism on the acquisition of riches through stealing (Babr. 105). The fable of the Country Mouse and the Town Mouse also comments on the dangers of acquiring substance through stealing as the mice are

[44] Seiler (1953), 232-33.
[45] Schaps (2003), 136.

twice put in danger by the human occupants of the house where the Town Mouse lived (Babr. 108). Such a passage can be viewed as a comment on the need to accept one's station in life — a mouse is a mouse, as a poor man is also a poor man and must work honestly to change his status in life.[46] These two examples illustrate that stealing is not recommended as a way to become rich. Schaps also points out that Archaic Age Greek poets were unanimous that excessive desire for wealth was wrong: 'The Archaic Greeks had a deep suspicion of too much wealth, too much power, too much success.'[47] Although excessive desire for wealth does not guarantee that one will have excessive wealth, a reading of Archaic Age poetry reveals that the suspicion of both is commensurate.

In the Aesopic example that I have just cited (Babr. 105), the choice of the fox to represent the first thief is undoubtedly inspired by the craftiness of the fox as discussed in Chapter Three, and the lion as symbolising authority in Chapter Four of this work. The lion's authority is misapplied in this case, like that of the hawk in Hesiod's fable of Hawk and Nightingale (if we accept the reading that the hawk represents the *basilees*, and the nightingale, Hesiod). On the other hand, one can also argue that the lion's authority is 'poetic' justice because it steals from a thief. The fox also appears on trial facing accusations for stealing from the wolf, where the ape offers a cryptic judgement on the matter, (Phaed. 1.10). The fox is thus largely used as a symbol of unfair economic dealing. In fact, most fables of cheating that I handled in Chapter Three can also be read as part of the economic didactic in both Greek and Kalanga orature. In Chapter Three I observed that foxes (and jackals) are united by the characteristic of raiding vineyards in Greek and Near Eastern lore, and raiding small livestock in southern Africa. Besides exercising his

[46] Cf. Horace, *Sat.* 2.6.79–117.
[47] Schaps (2003), 137.

cunning just for the fun of it, for example when the fox persuades a Lion to go against a hunter armed with bow and arrow (Babr. 1), the fox largely engages in intrigue for personal economic benefit. When he robs the crow of a piece of cheese (Babr. 77), the tradition is clearly holding bad/dishonest business practices (cheating) up for censure.[48] It does not help to repeat all the deceptions discussed in Chapter Three here, hence I invite the reader to refer back to the intrigues and also read them along the lines of financial deception. Such a reading is easy to achieve, especially if one thinks of a passage like Babrius 86, where a fox gets stuck between the roots of a tree while raiding a goatherd's pouch. Nor would one fail to read the message on the ethics of making wealth in the Kalanga tale where the Fox entices the Hyena to go and raid a white farmer's sheepfold. Hyena gets trapped inside a farmer's pen because he cannot control his appetite.[49] The tales are built on a similar motif of getting one stuck by the midriff because of gluttony. Both are based on a narrative strand that features the fox and hyena performing similar roles of plundering. The reasons for the traits of modernity in the Kalanga tale have been explained in Chapter One under the heading 'Pitfalls of Kalanga data' and will not be explained again here. Besides this, we notice that when viewed from the perspective of economic didactics, the tale yields lessons on the need to control greed for wealth — the need to be moderate in acquiring wealth.

The last reminder about Chapter Three that I offer is the statement/ justification as to why the fox features as clever in orature. This justification is made by Mr. Cephas Ncube and Mrs. Madamu Nkomo, indeed by all the elders at the Diba interviews. Unanimously they said that the fox gets

[48] However, one may read this fable as an encouragement to be circumspect in business deals. The crow in this fable may represent a person who is not astute in the handling of business deals. In this case, cheese represents the object for which the two are contending.
[49] Mbulawa (2001), 6–9.

its perfidious character in folklore from its real-life activity as it goes around 'stealing goats'.[50] The widespread nature of such admonitory literature clearly satirises bad business practice.

To conclude this brief section of animals as economic agents, it emerged that both Greek and Kalanga wisdom literatures show animals' relationships with one another as based on eating one another. This underlines the importance of food and feeding patterns in the animal world. The recurrence of the motif where an animal is stuck by its midriff because of overeating turns out to be common in both Greek and Kalanga wisdom literatures. Also, foxes feature prominently in both case studies, and they play similar roles of stealing in both cases. Kalanga thus confirms the fox as a universal cheat.

5.7 Ethics of acquiring wealth: why work?

The question why people should work is addressed by Hesiod in the myth of Prometheus and Zeus at Mecone (*Theog.* 535–616) where the two gods come into conflict over the division of meat (an ox). Here emphasis is placed on the fact that the Fall of Man is first premised on meat. If one attempts to reconcile the two Prometheus passages from *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, one quickly notes that in the story of Pandora, (*Op.* 42–105), Hesiod categorically states that the reason why man should work is because κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισιν, 'the gods have hidden the means of production from mankind' on account of Prometheus' favour of giving fire (to cook the meat) to humanity.[51] Prometheus' trick on Zeus marks the first separation of

[50] Interview held at Diba village, Zimbabwe, 15 April 2011.
[51] Fraser (2011), 11.

man from the gods.[52] Hesiod points out that work is the lot of man, as opposed to the pre-Pandora generations where little work would be required (*Op*. 43–44).

Most Archaic Age poetry seems to suggest that man has to work because the gods hate us and we must create our own wealth. As such, there is a pervading sense that in making wealth, we have to remember that the best wealth is that which is earned justly, for example (Sol., fr.i. 13.7–8). Therefore it exhorts man to honest labour. Indeed, John Heath notes that one of the major differences between man and the gods is that, besides being *athanatoi* 'immortal' and 'all-knowing,' the gods live easily while mankind lives wretchedly: the gods eat nectar and ambrosia, while mortals eat the produce of their fields; they must work.[53] On the question that Socrates asks: 'Is it good to be rich?'[54] David Schaps observes that this question was never asked in Archaic Age Greece, as the answer 'was too obvious.'[55] However, one will observe that there is a general fear of excessive wealth. 'In general, the worst thing an archaic Greek could say about wealth is that a person who was lucky enough to have it should be careful not to let it corrupt him.'[56]

Commenting on the Fall of Man as necessitating the need to work in traditional Chewa (Malawi) folktale, T. E. Knight mentions the story of Chiuta, whereby death comes to man via the agency of the chameleon.[57] Mhlabi's collection of Ndebele folktales *Sizwe elikantulo*, *('We Heard the Lizard's Message First')* is a book whose title derives from a similar story which explains the

[52] Fraser (2011), 15–16.
[53] Heath (2005), 51. Refers to passages like *Il.*(21.465) and *Od.*(8.222; 9.89). Also Tandy & Neale (1996) talk of '…the universal plight of the peasantry throughout human history.…' 1.
[54] Schaps (2003), 133.
[55] Schaps (2003), 134.
[56] Schaps (2003), 139.
[57] Knight (1997).

origins of death in a manner similar to the way in which Hesiod explains the origins of suffering through the story of Prometheus. In the Chewa and Ndebele folktales, God wished to grant human beings immortality, and sent Chameleon to take the message to the people. However, chameleon was tardy until God began to think that the people were being ungrateful. God then decided to send Lizard to go and tell human beings that they would not live forever, as a result of their ingratitude. Lizard raced to the people and delivered the message of human mortality way before Chameleon, who was still struggling to get to the humans with the good news. Finally, Chameleon got to the people with the message of the promised immortality. The people were angry at Chameleon and told him that, 'We heard the Lizard's message first'.

The same story is told in Kalanga by Balekang Maikano, and it features Zhayivi (Chameleon) and Tantabe (Lizard). For Maikano, the story is a way of philosophising about the origin of death.[58] Unlike its Mediterranean counterparts, the African story does not explicitly say that man will have to work in atonement for his transgression. The difference between the African and the Mediterranean, that is, the Old Testament and Hesiod, is that African tales do not premise this myth as the origin of work but as the origin of death.

In Maikano's, Mhlabi's and Knight's accounts, the chameleon's tardiness versus the speedy lizard can also be read as an encouragement to thrift and single-mindedness in the performance of work. The similarity between the Kalanga, Ndebele and the Chewa tales can be explained as part of the Bantu stock of folklore that seeks to explain the wretchedness of mankind, and the need to work. Commenting on such stories, John Mbiti says,

[58] Maikano (1977), 1.

> 'In many myths, the lizard is featured as the messenger who brought news from God that man should die. The chameleon, on the other hand, is featured as the messenger who should have brought news of immortality or resurrection, but either lingered on the way, or altered the message slightly or stammered in delivering it. Meanwhile lizard (or another animal) arrived on the scene and delivered the tragic news'. [59]

In the two traditions, one immediately notes that there is a deep sense of being away from God or the gods that necessitates the need to work. There is a deep sense in both the Greek and the African psyche that man is further from the numinous being than he previously was. For the Greeks, this distance means that man must work, among other sufferings, while for the African, this distance presages the mortality of man. There is also a resonance between such passages and the story of the Fall of Man in Genesis, thereby making this a universal feeling that characterises many cultures. Although their deployment is different and less central, one also notes the presence of animals in all the cultures in storylines of this type.

The view that work is the universal lot of man also allows for a discussion of the controversial Ἐλπίς (Hope) that remains inside after Pandora opens the lid of the jar in Hesiod *Op.* 96. This has been explained variously by different scholars. Commenting on the ambiguity of Ἐλπίς remaining in the πίθος, Fraser reads Hope as meaning two things: either that hope is good for man as it can help them understand their own human condition, '...it distinguishes men from omniscient gods who have no need for expectation, and men from beasts which are unaware of their own mortality.' Fraser bases her conclusion on *Op.* 498 and 500 which reflect that Hope is indeed available and accessible to mankind. On the other hand, she says there is also a possibility

[59] Mbiti (1969), 51.

that Hope is bad and to keep it in the jar means keeping it away from harming men.[60] After grappling with numerous interpretations, Verdenius concludes that Ἐλπίς does not denote moral evil; rather it denotes the expectation of evil.[61] So, this is a two sided view of the Hesiodic Hope. The bottom line here is that the clash for meat between Zeus and Prometheus necessitates the need for man to work. Although the Greek premises the need to work on the Fall of Man, it is important to note that the Kalanga, Ndebele and Chewa (Malawi) do not attach the need to work on the Fall. Rather to them, the Fall of Man illustrates the origins of death, and not the origins of work.

5.8 Animals as objects of economic aspiration

This section looks at the economic relationship between human being and animals. I focus on animals as the object towards which man's economic aspiration is directed. Starting with Hesiod, it is important to note that the persona in *Works and Days* is from a well-to-do background which does not make him or Perses require a job as a farm hand. Rather, he needs to hire a farm-hand (*Op*. 405). In Kalanga lore however, herding other people's livestock is actually a way of earning an honest living.

Some of the ways a person can earn riches is through becoming a herdsman, or a goatherd or shepherd. This is illustrated in the proverb, *Nlisi wemwizi unodla mapesu adzo: Unnu eyatula milandu munzi nkulu imwe mari ngeyiye*, 'He who herds sheep eats their tails: a person who helps resolve disputes in a huge homestead gets to keep some of the money' (Tr. 396). While the proverb is explained as extolling the benefits of being an arbitrator in other people's disputes, it

[60] Fraser (2011), 23.
[61] Verdenius (1985), 70.

is important to note that this proverb is modelled on shepherding sheep, an activity which is attestable even in the archaeology of buKalanga.[62] Shepherds are also abundant in the Greek fable, thus another point of similarity in both societies.

Kalanga orature also encourages a communal approach to work. *Tshinyunyi babili komba yega tjowuluka: Bannu babili mung'hingo wabo banopedza tjinyolotjo*, 'Catching a little bird requires two people; try to catch it alone and it will fly away: This means when two people work together, they complete their task immediately' (Tr. 1). In this proverb, the two people are catching the bird to eat it, thereby affirming my hypothesis that the position of an animal in the food-chain plays a huge role in its deployment in myth. The fact that this proverb is the first in the Traczyk collection illustrates its prominence in Kalanga life as it encourages communalism, and an inclusive approach to life and work. It also emphasises the philosophy of *ubuntu*.

On a similar note, Hesiod illustrates the importance of communalism in *Works and Days*, especially when he instructs his audience to have good relations with their neighbours. Hesiod states that one's friends respond quicker to an emergency than his relatives as they (neighbours) will come ἄζωστοι (unshod) in case of an emergency. On the other hand, one's relatives will take their time and dress up and come ζώσαντο (girt) to the same emergency (line 345). The phrasing of Hesiod's text is interesting as he shows the difference between neighbours (friends) and relatives.[63] Hesiod ends his advice on good neighbourliness when he hints that good neighbours will save a fellow neighbour's ox should it be in danger: οὐδ' ἂν βοῦς ἀπόλοιτ', εἰ μὴ

[62] Van Waarden (1987), 112.
[63] Verdenius (1985) discusses West's (1978) and Mazon's (1914) comments on the passage, noting that for West, the neighbours' coming to rescue unshod implies urgent haste, and that for Mazullo, this contrast implies the distance from which the relatives have to come, 168. Whatever Hesiod's intention is, on can note that he is very affirming of good neighbourly relations.

γείτων κακὸς εἴη, 'Not even an ox would die except for a bad neighbour' (*Op.* 348). The two animals mentioned, the little bird (*tjinyunyi* in Kalanga), and the ox in Hesiod contribute to our understanding of human sustenance in terms of food. However, there is a difference when Hesiod dissuades Perses from completely trusting other people, especially to lend him an ox for the plough (*Op*. 342–51). Here, Hesiod is not discouraging his audience from good neighbourliness *per se*; rather, he is arguing for self-sufficiency on the part of the farmer. One can note the resonance between Archaic Age Greek and oral Kalanga when one looks at the encouragement of communalism for economic sustenance.

It should be noted that communalism does not mean that people should disregard personal interest. Both traditions are aware of the importance of competition in order to secure wealth. The Traczyk collection contains the proverb, *Butamutamu gowanisa ngombe: Nnu ayehinga mumagalo akasiyana unowana mano angalenga ngombe*, 'Contest gives cattle: if a person is working in the community, he can find ideas that can bring him cattle' (Tr. 41). In this proverb, cattle are clearly presented as the object of man's quest for riches. In terms of contest, this aphorism resonates with Hesiod's passage on the wholesome Eris which spurs people to work hard. The interpretation does not necessarily downplay the competitive resonance of the proverb because the proverb can be interpreted in different ways, such as:

> εἰς ἕτερον γάρ τίς τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο χατίζει
> πλούσιον, ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρώμεναι ἠδὲ φυτεύειν
> οἶκόν τ᾽ εὖ θέσθαι· ζηλοῖ δέ τε γείτονα γείτων
> εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντ᾽· ἀγαθὴ δ᾽ Ἔρις ἥδε βροτοῖσιν.
> Hes. *Op.* 21–24.

For a person is eager to work when he sees another rich person

> Who hastens to plough and to plant and put his house in good order; and neighbour is jealous of neighbour as he rushes after wealth. This Strife is wholesome for mankind (Translation mine)

Although there are no animals in it, the passage above on the two *Erides* encourages contest as a way of earning riches, while discouraging dishonesty in this contest. The poet achieves this by positing that the type of Strife that Perses is currently engaging in — bribing the princes and aiming to outdo Hesiod at keeping his patrimony — is wrong. Perses ought to use the type of Strife that is good for mankind, as illustrated by Hesiod.[64] In light of these two examples, one notes that both Greek and Kalanga societies encourage competition, albeit of the 'good' type. One also notes the importance of animals in the discussion of the ethics of acquiring wealth.

5.9 Environmental ethics: the need for restraint while amassing wealth.

The previous gives the impression that both Greek and Kalanga societies only advocated work as a way of acquiring wealth. However, when one takes the history of the two places into account, one notes that one of the major ways of acquiring wealth was raiding weaker neighbours. Examples include Nestor's raids, as well as the buccaneering activities of heroes like Achilles, Odysseus, Archilochus, and many others. Writing about the explorations of Baines and his company of explorers (c.1869) in the regions between the Zambezi and the Limpopo, Robert James Mann notes that the Mashuna [sic][65] had their peace and security of life disturbed by Matabele warriors who 'continually swept through their settlements, stealing cattle, sheep, and goats, and killing the people, or taking them away with them as captives.'[66] This makes it clear

[64] Zhang (2009), 4.
[65] To read 'Mashona', i.e. the Shona people.
[66] Mann (1871), 108.

that precolonial African societies were in a habit of raiding their weaker neighbours for economic benefits.

During the interviews, Mr. Phineas Moyo said his grandfather Mr. Jack Masokana Moyo always wore one copper earring on his left ear, and explained it as a pointer towards Ndebele identity. He said Mr. Masokana wished he was Ndebele because he despised the cowardice of his own Kalanga people. The cowardice of the Kalanga is shown by the fact that they allowed the Ndebele to easily colonize them and take away their livestock.[67] One may note the commonality of acts of piracy and preying on weaker societies to acquire wealth as one of the common methods of acquiring wealth.

In *Nau*, the Kalanga are clearly not a heroic people, preferring to call themselves *baka xamu yendazwa*, 'the people of the soft switch'. They view themselves as the python (*kecha/xato*) which does not have poison (*buxungu*). The explanation given for the python metaphor is that the Kalanga do not like to be cheated, *Nau*. (3.3–3.4). Taken collectively, the two metaphors (soft switch and python) mean that Kalanga orature portrays them as weaklings who stood a big chance of being raided by stronger neighbours. The image of the Kalanga seeing themselves as pythons because they do not like to be cheated can also be read as an encouragement of fairness, possibly in financial dealing as well.

It is a gross generalisation to say that the Kalanga were a perennially peaceful people. There are some incidents in *Nau* that show Kalanga chieftains raiding each other, their weaker neighbours

[67] Interview between Jeffrey Wills and Phineas Moyo, Diba village, Plumtree, (15 April 2011)

— and sometimes being raided. Interestingly for this work, the characters in *Nau* seem to fight mainly for cattle, and sometimes territory and pasture, (*Nau* 4.26). The stock-phrase that Kumile uses to indicate that there has been a battle is *dzadliwa*, 'They (cattle) have been eaten'. This phrase suggests that cattle were the major spoils of war. When one of the Kalanga chieftains, Tumbale, defeated the Rwa, the phrase that was used is *Ngono ngwa yaTumbale ikadzidla n'ombe dzebaRwa*, glossed over by Wentzel in 'So then the army of Tumbale raided the cattle of the Rwa', (*Nau*, 5.17). The word *ikadzidla* means literally means 'and it ate (the cattle)'. In both societies, it seems that the raiders found nothing morally wrong with raiding a weaker neighbour or enemy for the acquisition of property.

Cattle-raiding is something we also find in Archaic Greek poetry, for example *Od*. 11.288–91 where Neleus says only the man who can drive away Iphiclus' cattle would marry his daughter. The beginning of the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1) demonstrates how Odysseus' companions took away their day of return by slaughtering and eating the cattle of Helios, a story which Odysseus narrates at length in *Od.* 12. These accounts illustrate the commonality of cattle raiding in oral societies.

Among other things, there are dangers that are attached to livestock raiding, as can be seen in the fate of Odysseus' companions mentioned above. The warriors need to exercise restraint while raiding for wealth.[68] For example, one was not expected to attack the divine (the gods and Mwali), especially where the concerned deity 'owned' the cattle. Divine protection of animals entails that the particular animal is sacred, for example the respect that Hindu law has for cows which they consider as sacred. Denys Page remarks that the idea of punishing mortals for killing

[68] McIlnerney (2010) notes that while cattle raiding is common, the raiders should at least feel remorse about it — something the Suitors do not, 100.

sacred animals like the cattle of the Sun in the *Odyssey* was quite familiar throughout Greek lands, so that Homer's audience would not be perplexed at hearing such tales.[69] Another mythic example of cattle theft can be seen in the theft of Apollo's cattle by the baby Hermes in the Homeric hymn to the latter. Likewise, there are sacred cattle in Kalanga lore, especially in the areas of traditional religion where a black ox or bull may be chosen to represent the ancestors, and get the name *Batategulu*, 'Grandfather'. To compare Kalanga attitudes towards the numinous with regard to the acquisition of riches, one may begin by noting that Kalanga traditional religion is monotheistic, with the Supreme God, Mwali at the helm.[70] Mwali requires that people behave with moderation on issues of business, and avoid consumerism and obscene cupidity. It is believed that this preserves nature and maintains the balance in productivity.

I now turn to the legend of Nichasike and Tumbale that is related in *Nau* (4.26ff.). In this legend, king Nichasike who is Mambo (King) of the Nyayi (Kalanga?) is sent to fight the Rwa[71] people by Mwali as Mwali's whip of vengeance. Nichasike does this but, envying the cattle that he has captured from this expedition, he decides to keep the cattle for himself. This action of stealing from Mwali can be viewed as similar to our understanding of *hybris* in the *Odyssey* and in ancient Greek societies. However, the two circumstances are different because Odysseus' men are compelled to eat Helios' cattle because of hunger, while Nichasike does it out of sheer arrogance and greed. Both Nichasike and his squire, Tumbale, rudely refuse to forward the cattle

[69] Page (1973), 82.
[70] Nthoi (2006) calls Mwali the 'High God', 4; also Mothibi (1999), 7–9 who understands Mwali's epistemology as a voice that speaks from a cave, without a body to be seen as the source of the voice: also, *Mwali uNdzimu*, 'God is a spirit' who causes rainfall. To court his favour people bring beer and food, as well as observe a set of taboos on which animals not to kill, and which days not to work in the fields. Mwali is the name of God in the Kalanga Bible, Schutte (1978) Fortune (1973) van Binsbergen (1991). All these agree on an anthropomorphic conception of Mwali, no matter how remote the connection may seem. Mwali speaks (a human trait), and has a footstep in George Fortune's account (1973), 1.
[71] Wentzel (1983b), 83 n. 44 identifies the Rwa as the people of Chief Kari/ Khari/Kgari who lived south of the Kalanga (Ngwato?).

to Mwali saying, 'I cannot give one of them [cattle] for the old woman who has nothing that she works [does] apart from speaking loudly in a cave,' *Nau* (4.31–32). I agree with Wentzel who notes that the use of the feminine to address Mwali is derogatory.[72] One commonality between Archaic Greek and Kalanga traditions is that it seems permissible for one to amass as much wealth (cattle in this case) as they can through piracy, as long as they do not oppose the will of the divine.

The observation that the use of the feminine to address Mwali, *lukadzikulu* — an old woman — is derogatory gives rise to the question of the gender of Mwali, who is sometimes identified as being both male and female. It is important to note that God in the Christian sense of the word still retains the name Mwali in the Kalanga Bible. Hezekiel Mafu identifies the residence of Mwali in caves (Manyangwa, near Plumtree). However, van Binsbergen notes that during his visit to North East Botswana (Ntogwa), the shrine that he saw was a small thatched hut.[73] Although I have never been inside the shrine or cave proper where Mwali speaks, my understanding is that the voice of Mwali is heard speaking from a cave. The authenticity of this remains open to debate as the congregants at the shrine are required to look down and never to look up: the deterrent is that one would lose their sight if they looked up. Although the present researcher was raised in an environment where Kalanga traditional religion was practised, the researcher does not find it necessary to share his opinions on the veracity of the events about Mwali, except to say that among most baKalanga, Mwali is God. Perhaps the residence of Mwali in numerous loci points to Mwali's omnipresence, just like in Christian theology.

[72] Wentzel (1983b), 84, n.49.
[73] Van Binsbergen (1991), 327.

The statement uttered by Mwali as he promises revenge for the cattle that Nichasike will not hand over implies the invisibility of the former, *Mondilinga, mondibona? Botate benyu bakatongondibona*? 'You look for me. Do you see me? Did even your fathers see me at all?' (*Nau*. 4.34).[74] Mwali's response to the hybris of Nichasike and Tumbale is to individually promise vengeance on each of them, saying Nichasike/ Tumbale: *ibhudzi ndowopuwuka*, translated by Wentzel as, '... [he is] a pumpkin into which I shall make a hole,' *Nau.* (4.33). This means that Mwali promised to punish or harm the offenders. To compare this with the Greek conception of hybris, one can turn to the work of MacDowell who notes that hybris may be a concern of the gods if one treats a god with hybris: '... if a man in a myth steals something from a god, or in real life steals a sacred object from a temple, it may be expected that the god will punish him...'[75] In the same line, Mwali punishes Nichasike and his kingdom by sending in an invasion by the Swazi. The invasion is a form of Mwali's vengeance against Nichasike. Here, then, the most worthy thing to note is the importance of cattle as a form of wealth, for which humans, the gods, and Mwali are prepared to fight. The comparable aspect here is the punishment that Mwali and Helios inflict upon offenders who steal their cattle, literally. McIlnerney gives a list of people who get killed for cattle raiding, for example Kastor, Geryon and so on.[76] As such, plundering had to be done in observance of the dictates of the divine, as failure to do so incurred divine wrath. Indeed, the importance of cattle in pre-colonial Kalanga societies can be seen in the beginnings of the would-be colonisers of the Kalanga, that is the Ndebele whose king Mzilikazi broke away from King Shaka's Zulu nation on account of cattle that Mzilikazi had raided on the orders of Shaka, but would not hand them over to the king as

[74] See also Wentzel (1983b), 84 n.49
[75] MacDowell (1976), 22.
[76] McIlnerney (2010), 98.

they were beautiful. This dispute marked the birth of the Ndebele nation, into which Kalanga society was, and is still, assimilated.

5.10.1 Environmental ethics: sacred snakes

The following subsection focuses on attempts by oral societies to preserve nature through taboos. To begin, I will begin by first defining the word 'taboo', as the concept is central in a discussion of environmental ethics. Taboos are restrictions or prohibitions resulting from social or other conventions. These may include ritual restrictions of some things that are considered holy or unclean.[77] To give an example, one can note that another attribute of Mwali is that found in Mothibi where Mwali is the rain-God, and manifests in the form of a snake.[78] When offerings are being made to Mwali, the *hadza* (thick porridge made from cereals) that they bring are all miraculously eaten while the congregants have their heads bowed down, listening to the mysterious voice of Mwali.[79] As such, animals that are perceived to have associations with Mwali may not be randomly killed. Every year around October there is a rainmaking pilgrimage at the Manyangwa shrine, to the North West of Plumtree town in Zimbabwe. During this pilgrimage, African traditional religious practitioners visit the *daka*, a middle-sized compound adjacent to the shrine of Mwali. The practitioners perform rain-dances (literally) for a period that runs from a few days to a few weeks. While there, all creatures in the compound may not be killed as the Kalanga believe that the ancestral spirits transform themselves into animals to visit the world of the living.[80] It is presumed that people may want to kill animals for food or for protection. Perhaps snakes are preserved in order to maintain the biomass of the area, for

[77] McLeod (1986), s.v. 'taboo' or 'tabu'.
[78] Mothibi (1999),13.
[79] Mothibi (1999), 7.
[80] Mafu (1995), 304. Also, Taringa (2014), 250–1.

example by eating rodents that destroy fields, household property or even the thatch at the *daka*, which is largely unattended to throughout the year except during the rain dances mentioned earlier.

Concerning the reason why snakes represent the numinous in Kalanga, I will go by Leslie Nthoi's report, which I quote at length:

> 'The explanation seems to lie in the conception of the spirit world as underground. Since the world of the spirits is considered to be underground, it seems logical to call the [spirits] snakes, because snakes live in burrows underground. The ancestral spirits come out of the spirit world underground into the human realm, in the same way snakes come out of their burrows.'[81]

One notes that in ancient Greece too there was belief in the existence of guardian snakes at sacred sites, (such as Ladon in the Garden of the Hesperides, the Delphic python killed by Apollo at *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 300) as well as snakes as 'spirits/souls of the dead' (sometimes snakes are depicted on vases in the proximity of tombs). These facts provide points of contact with Kalanga snake lore. There were also sacred precincts where animals were allowed to roam freely and it was taboo to kill them.

As such, snakes are usually regarded as embodying the numinous.[82] Karl Mauch describes how he was blamed by the Makalaka (Kalanga) for shooting 'too much' to such an extent that it rained scantily as a result.[83] His defence is that he was shooting at '…poisonous, and as such,

[81] Nthoi (2006), 29.
[82] Mbiti (1969) notes that the snake is thought by the Vugusu and Sidamo, to be immortal. Others have sacred snakes, esp. pythons, which may not be killed by people, 51.
[83] Mauch (1965), 67.

greatly feared snakes.'[84] Although he does not mention *why* he was prohibited from shooting, it is possible after the exposé above that the types of snakes that he shot were viewed as sacred by his hosts. Nthoi describes how, on the day he visited one of the priests at Njelele shrine in the Matobo region (the burial place of Cecil John Rhodes), he saw a small snake on his van. When he sought a stick with which to kill the snake, the presiding priest discouraged him from doing so by indicating that the snake was the spirit of his (the priest's) father who had come to greet Nthoi. Nthoi reports that he saw the snake more than ten times during his stay there.[85] Taboos illustrate the importance of Kalanga traditional religion in the conservation of nature.

Rev. Mothibi believes that a snake demonstrates the power of God. He relates a tale where the Kalanga community visited the Manyangwa oracle for traditional ceremonies and, one evening, when the pilgrims had gone to sleep, a snake entered into a drum of traditional beer, bathed itself inside, before rolling in the open space between the huts and going back to the mountain. According to Mothibi, people discovered this the following morning and they had to throw the beer away because it had been straddled by Mwali — *Bathu betja gung'wa kuyi gwapalamiwa ndi batategulu Mbedzi,* 'And people were afraid to drink the beer, saying it had been stradled by Mwali.'[86] This demonstrates the importance of snakes in the conception of Mwali. Greek examples of sacred snakes include the snake that left the acropolis as an omen, and the snake that bit Philoctetes when he trod on sacred ground (See *Iliad* book 2).

[84] Ibid.
[85] Nthoi (2006), 29–30.
[86] Mothibi (1999), 13–14.

5.10.2 Totems

Another important concept in this discussion is totem. A totem is an object, a plant, animal or any other that symbolises a clan, family, and so on. Strauss defines totemism as the association of an animal species and a human clan.[87] The totem usually has ritual associations.[88] Kalanga totems sometimes show traces of attempts at conservation of nature by regulating human exploitation of animal resources, thereby imposing limits on the consumption of nature's endowments (eco-criticism). In Kalanga society and in other southern African cultures, like the Ndebele and Tonga for example, a person with an animal surname does not normally eat that particular animal, does not eat a part of it, or does not eat either part of, or the whole animal if it has been killed or has died under certain conditions.[89] Totems are closely related to taboos, and these taboos normally come with a psychosomatic deterrent: for example Moyo is deterred from eating the heart of any animal by a threat that if they violate this taboo, then they shall lose many of their teeth (Moyo is Kalanga for Heart). Another restriction that I know from Kalanga society is that women should not eat beef from a cow that dies whilst it is giving birth, with the deterrent being that they too might be faced with complications once they go into labour. Only old women beyond menopause eat this type of meat. Arguably, this taboo aims at some form of restraint with regards to greed and consumption of natural resources; hence it should be interpreted as an attempt at the conservation of nature via control of greed for meat. A person who violates their totem lacks *ubuntu.*

[87] Strauss (1962), 13.
[88] McLeod (1986), s.v. 'totem'. Also, Strauss (1962) notes that the ritual element of totemism is typically manifested in a prohibition on eating the animal or plant, or using the object, except on certain conditions, 8.
[89] If you are Nkomo (cow, bull or ox) you do not eat beef from a bull that dies as a result of castration. Moyo does not eat the heart of any animal, something which I am still very cognizant of to this day.

Mothibi argues that at times, when Mwali is angry with people for killing a sacred animal of his, he orders the people to make reparations with a black cow or ox.[90] In a discussion of how some of the Kalanga people supplied salt from the Khadikhadi (Kgalakgadi, Botswana) to places in Zimbabwe, the salt prospectors, we are told by Rev. Mothibi, travelled long distances unperturbed by wild animals because they would burn some herbs that would make the animals run away. He notes that the animal that commanded the highest level of fear was the lion. Also, when they were travelling, they first visited Mwali to ask for permission to kill some of the animals that they would come across along the way as a way of finding sustenance: *Ngobe kwakabe kusinga bulawe phuka kukagotjiwa nyama yadzo kusanobikiwa ka Mwali*, 'Because people would not just kill animals and roast them without first informing Mwali.'[91] Likewise, Artemis was the goddess of wild animals and people would ask *her* permission before game hunting (and share with her after killing). So far, the leading discovery of these two sections is that in both cultures, the numinous is placed as the guardian of nature, and people must obey the dictates thereof to avoid punishment. By so doing myth served the purpose of preserving natural resources — animals in this case.

5.11 Ethics of handling current wealth: women and wealth.

Archaic Age thinking largely suggests that women pose a threat to the preservation of wealth and sometimes uses imagery drawn from animals to illustrate this. For example Hesiod's description of Pandora as a dog supports this view. Commenting on the creation of Pandora and the assignment of a bitch's mind to her (Pandora), Franco notes that Hesiod's poems illuminate that in a rural economy based on male labour, for a husband, marrying a woman means another

[90] Mothibi (1999), 8.
[91] Mothibi (1999), 16.

mouth to feed. A woman is construed as the parasitic element that consumes the supplies stored away '...with so much toil by the men'.[92]

Wolkow identifies gluttony as one of a dog's characteristics in myth.[93] Hesiod's caution to men is:

> μὴ δὲ γυνή σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἐξαπατάτω
> αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεὴν διφῶσα καλιήν.
> ὃς δὲ γυναικὶ πέποιθε, πέποιθ' ὅ γε φηλήτῃσιν. *Op*. 373–5.
>
> Do not let a flaunting woman coax and cozen and deceive you: she is after your barn. The man who trusts womankind trusts deceivers. (Trans. Evelyn-White, 31).

For Hesiod, it seems that women use their sexual allure[94] to access the wealth that men make. Canevaro also reminds us that from Pandora on, women have consumed resources and increased the need for productivity:[95] Benjamin Wolkow posits an argument that when Pandora opens the πίθος in *Works and Days*, she does so in order to steal the provisions contained therein.[96] Wolkow works progressively on the evidence that would make Pandora the type of person who would actually *want* to steal from a man like Epimetheus. As such, it is important to note that all these arguements by scholars stem from the canine depitiction of Pandora in Hesiod. This depiction's major function aims at disparaging women as parasites on man's substance.

[92] Franco (2014), 3.
[93] Wolkow (2007), 254 and 257.
[94] Canevaro (2013), 195.
[95] Canevaro (2013), 188.
[96] Wolkow (2007), 247.

The woman uses αἰμύλα (deceptive words) and her πυγοστόλος (backside) to access men's wealth, a view that is also supported by Fraser when she notes that '…Pandora creates for the first time uncertainty among men (in sexual, procreative and economic terms), and this uncertainty is reflected in the double-edged terms used to describe her.'[97] An example of these double edged terms is 'beautiful evil'. There are debates on the development of Pandora as a character, with scholars like Wickkiser identifying the unidentified woman in *Theogony* as more of a statue than an animated character, while Pandora of the *Works and Days* is a livelier and more active agent.[98] Either way, both Pandora and the 'statue' have the quality of being a threat to a man's riches. Canevaro also notes the threat that women pose to men as they poke around granaries, and becoming lustful when men are at their weakest.[99] Here the major point is that the Archaic Age Greek society presents women as a threat to wealth that men generate.

While this has nothing to do with animals (except the dog), the Hesiodic passage allows for a comparison with the dog woman in Semonides. The resonance between Hesiod and Semonides is noticeable in their misogynistic depiction of women as dogs. According to Franco, the dog metaphor represents traits of commensality, intrusiveness, lack of restraint in general.[100]

τὴν δ᾽ ἐκ κυνὸς λιτοεργόν, αὐτομήτορα,
ἣ πάντ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι, πάντα δ᾽ εἰδέναι θέλει,
πάντη δὲ παπταίνουσα καὶ πλανωμένη
λέληκεν, ἢν καὶ μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷ.
Sem. fr. 7.12–15

[97] Fraser (2011), 24.
[98] Wickkiser (2010), 558. He also says that both the Pandora of *Theogony* and that of *Works and Days* are terracotta statues as they are made by Hermes from water and clay (terracotta statues of young women), 560. The fact that she is a product of both Hephaestus and Athena, patron gods of the forge and crafts, respectively, allows for such an interpretation as well, 562.
[99] Canevaro (2012), 185–6.
[100] Franco (2014), 9, so not exclusively the lack of sexual restraint.

> Another of a bitch, a busybody like her mother,
> one that would fain hear all, know all, and peering and prying
> everywhere barketh e'en though she see nothing....
> (Trans. Edmonds, 219)

Commenting on the trait a dog would represent, Wolkow begins his argument for Pandora's thieving motive with a comparison of Pandora with this 'dog woman' in Semonides, and identifies her traits as curiosity and and being cantankerous.[101] Wolkow traces the importance of Hesiod to both Semonides and (much later) Apuleius by noting that the dog woman in Sem. 7 creates a link with Pandora as both are interested in other people's (men's?) affairs, while Apuleius recalls Hesiod in that both Pandora and Psyche are led by curiosity to open Zeus' jar and Venus' box respectively. He comments: 'Whereas Apuleius links Psyche with Pandora by a similarity of situation, Semonides connects his 'dog-woman' with Pandora by a similarity of characterization through canine symbolism.'[102] Although Psyche does not have canine qualities, it is important to note the progression of canine symbolism to describe women in both Hesiod and Semonides.

Canevaro notes that 'The words used to describe the maiden who spends time in the house are also reminiscent of the description of drones in Hesiod's simile of drones which are used to describe women.'[103] But Canevaro notes that some of the imagery actually does point at the economic usefulness of women. Canevaro takes note of the use of the symbols of the ant and the spider in one of Hesiod's catalogues of 'days':

> 'The ant was proverbial for wisdom, and the association of the spider and the ant is an Indo-European motif. But what is it doing here? The use of two animal markers in such quick

[101] Wolkow (2007), 249.
[102] Wolkow (2007), 250.
[103] Canevaro (2013), 194.

> succession is striking. It seems to me that the juxtaposition marks a division of labour between the sexes: the spider is the woman weaving, the ant the man making stores.'[104]

While Wolkow does a good analysis in the depiction of dogs in ancient literature, I do not think that ancient authors would have to go specifically to the Hesiodic tradition to check on how to deploy a dog in a myth. There are always too many dogs in any society to use as models for human character. However, Wolkow does a good job in noting the depiction of dogs as stealthy and gluttonous, citing similar depictions in Semitic literature, as well as in the etymologies of monster names like Scylla (*Od*. 12.223), and Cerberus (e.g. *Theog*. 311), canine monsters that fawned playfully on their intended prey, and ate the latter while it was in a state of playful friendship.[105]

Although the suggestion of a connection from Hesiod, through Semonides, all the way down to Apuleius seems tempting, I think it is wrong to claim that the appearance of the dog in folklore descends from a particular tradition. Rather, mere observation of dogs in real life and expressions of a shared cultural understanding could easily have been the influence behind the characterization of the woman-dog in Semonides, for example. However, the theme of curiosity of Pandora and that of Psyche could point to the reception of Hesiod by Apuleius. In the passages that I have just mentioned, it is important to remember the point that is being argued: that women in the ancient tradition are characterized as retrogressive to men's economic stability and advancement, and Greek orature sometimes uses the image of the dog to illustrate this trait.

[104] Canevaro (2013), 200–1.
[105] Wolkow (2007), 251–2.

However, Kalanga orature rarely presents women in this light. I will discuss women in relation to sex, marriage and the family more in the following chapter.

The following example should give a clue on how different Kalanga women would have been from their counterparts in Archaic Age Greece. *Ndume ayina mahwe inamahwe ihadzi: Nnu unangha unkadzi nlume anangha*, 'The male one (ox or bull) does not have sour curds *(mahwe),* the one that has is the female (cow): the person who owns a homestead is the woman, a man does not own a homestead' (Tr. 280). This proverb illustrates that in Kalanga thought, the home belongs to the woman, and not the man. This is true because Kalanga homes are usually designated by the woman, for example *kaBaka Mbiganyi*, at the mother of Mbiganyi's — the man is never mentioned in this capacity. I will handle the subject of women and men at length in the following chapter.

5.12 Conclusions

The chapter has established the importance of animals in the depiction of human status, the ethics of acquiring wealth, and the way to preserve it. The importance of cattle as an object and symbol of wealth was clearly noted in both cultures under study, for example their use in the naming of places and people, Boeotia and Nkomo. This emanates from the fact that cattle, like plants, constitute our food, as noted by John Mbiti.[106] Another function of cattle in Kalanga includes marrying women, both as bride price, and as a means of sustaining one's family, hence their dominance as symbols of wealth in orature and in real life.

[106] Mbiti (1969), 50.

On the other hand, both Greek and Kalanga are unanimous in assigning the dog as the typology of indigence. It was noted that this is due to the dependence that dogs have on human beings. However, this is a rather biased view of the true value of dogs as they are also used as symbols of guarding man's property, as seen in Hesiod (*Op.* 604). In proverbs and fables discussed, it emerged that dogs are also used in oral literature to critique class relations, for example the proverb (Tr. 264) which attacks the rich for gaining their riches through exploiting other people. Interpretation of the fox's intrigues along economic lines has also been one of the major discoveries of this chapter.

To respond to a question like one Heda Jason[107] asks on ascertaining the outer forces which shape an oral literature, it emerges that the utility of animals largely determines the development of an animal in oral literature. The dog's dependence on human beings makes him a fitting candidate to describe indigence. Also related to this issue is the importance of food in relations between animals. Hesiod's hawk and nightingale is a good example. I suppose this is the only relationship between hunter and prey.

When paired with archaeological evidence from Mapungubwe and Matanga, it emerges that Kalanga praise poetry (the praises of the Kalanga kings in *Nau*) does hold some cultural capital, perhaps in a way that has not been imagined before. The establishment of the link between the rhino in the praises of the Kalanga kings in *Nau* with the archaeological data from Mapungubwe is one of the prime achievements of this chapter, as it makes it possible for Mapungubwe to be

[107] Jason (1969), 413.

classified as an ancient Kalanga civilisation. Thus, Kalanga praise poetry can be a source of information on the function of animals in the Kalanga economy.

On the methods used in the acquisition of cattle, it emerged that honest work was the best way of making wealth. Raiding for cattle is recommended as a way of gaining riches, but there are constraints as the gods and Mwali enforce the laws of consumption. On altruism versus self-interest, it emerged that both obtain in Kalanga society, as there are proverbs that encourage competition, as well as customs that are based on altruism, for example *mayidzwa*, 'cattle loaning', some of which is illustrated by Mothetho.[108] Kalanga proverbs allow for pursuance of private property, although there are some restraints (cf. the story of Nichasike and Tumbale).

The value of myth for the conservation of animals and the environment was also noted. In both cultures, the numinous is placed as the guardian of nature, and people must obey the dictates thereof to avoid punishment. By so doing, it is my belief that orature also served the purpose of preserving natural resources; animals in this case. I will end this discussion by quoting from Stephen Lonsdale:

> 'In summary man's relationship with animals in ancient Greece is neither simply one of superiority or submission. By virtue of his reason and technical accomplishment man harnesses the energy of the domesticated animal and makes it work for him. Between the shepherd and his flock, hunter and dog, there is a sense of reciprocity.'[109]

[108] Mothetho (2006), 'The sharing of food was not a minor thing in Kalanga culture…. [Children] were taught to share because in Kalanga traditional culture, all was for the community.' He illustrates this further by using the proverb, *bukamu igaswa gozhadziswa ngoja*- relationship without food is half; it becomes full with food,' 3.
[109] Lonsdale (1979), 155.

Chapter Six

Fauna and erotic didactics.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the way in which animals are used as symbols of moral authority in the depiction of the human concepts of love in the cautionary narratives of Archaic Greek and Kalanga wisdom literature. In this chapter, matters of love, sex and sexuality, marriage and patriarchy, promiscuity, misogyny and related issues are discussed using imagery modelled on animals. How are animals deployed to impart love wisdom? What does the bitch-woman represent in Semonides?[1] What influences the dog to be deployed as a symbol for an infidel? Is it because of the dog's sexuality in real life? What inspires people to narrate tales of mythical lovers like snakes, mermaids? How do these reflect one another? In this chapter I offer a comparative study of Archaic Greek and Kalanga wisdom literature which focuses on the choice of animals used in cautionary tales, and, more broadly, the symbols used to teach the art of love.

The questions I ask of both traditions include: what animals are chosen to represent infidelity, and what is the inspiration behind the infamous choice of the dog (bitch) to represent human traits? The chapter considers whether these texts present such models based on the observation of the sexual behaviour of real dogs, or whether animals are randomly deployed without paying much attention to their real life situations (symbolic affordance). With these texts we find ourselves asking: do animals have the capacity to love? Do people fall in love with animals? Do

[1] Franco (2014), esp. Chapters 1 & 2.

sad lovers become animals? Examples of texts which relate (or seem to) to animals and sexuality include Semonides (fr. 7), Hesiod *Op.* (66–67) and Archilochus (fr. 196a), where he compares Neobule's sex-drive to that of a bitch. Kalanga examples include proverbs and folktales like Chebani's story of a man who married the woman-dog, and proverbs like *Mhungubwe njendi njendi inobuya nensungo wolubwa*, 'A fox that likes to move around comes back with a chain of dogs,' a cautionary proverb that discourages infidelity in love.

6.2 Critical Approaches

A gendered approach is appropriate for assessing the portrayal of different expectations about love in Archaic Greek poetry and in the Kalanga idiom. Gender refers to attitudes that are associated with a person's biological sex. Both traditional Kalanga and Archaic Age Greek societies are patriarchal, which means that the societies are dominated by men (πατήρ and ἀρχή). Essentially, patriarchy is a system where women are subordinate to men. In such societies women are discriminated against by men as they may experience violence, exploitation and oppression by men.[2] This approach helps discuss views about the behaviour expected of women by men, and of men by women. Another approach that is related to a gendered approach is feminist literary criticism. David Schaps indicates that feminist literary criticism proposes a new framework for rereading literature in view of the relationship between the sexes, '. . . in particular with a view to questions of power and its exercise within the family and without.'[3] Zeitlin adopts the feminist approach to explain mythical storylines. Creation stories like that of Pandora, as well as the creation of Eve in the Bible, are, in her view, mythologized explanations

[2] Bhasin (1993), 3.
[3] Schaps (2011), 125.

of the presence and status of women in the societies of Hesiod and the Old Testament. She says, 'To account for her [the woman's] supplementary presence requires a motive, a reason, a purpose — in short, a myth.'[4] A feminist reading of the Pandora myth, therefore, illustrates that Greek folklore presents women negatively. Kennan notes that the evil nature that is associated with the prototypical woman (Pandora) is always dependent on the judgments of both ancient and modern interpreters who are largely male.[5] The reason for this discrepancy is gender inequality, whereby males get more opportunities for study than women, whose roles are largely domestic in many societies.[6]

I also use this gendered approach to investigate texts for traces of dominance and the control of sexuality, which also relate to economic and physical dominance. The body of Archaic Age Greek literature under study is largely by male authors, and their views are usually bound by the patriarchal functioning of Archaic Greek society. Kalanga songs, proverbs and folktales, being communal property, will also be investigated for these trends, with the goal of determining whether they served males exclusively, or both genders. In some Kalanga proverbs and folktales, people are compared to dogs, sometimes with connotations of loose sexual morality. Thus, this chapter concentrates on two areas: (1) the way animals depict human sexuality, and (2) the issue of patriarchy, and the allocation of class and gender roles. These categories are susceptible to a gendered approach.

[4] Zeitlin (1996), 53.
[5] Kennan (2008), 8.
[6] The *World Development Report* (2012), notes that in some populations girls are the last to enroll and the first to drop out of school in difficult times, 106–7.

The control of sex can be interpreted along the lines of gender, as it pits males against females. Susan Guettel Cole comments on the distrust Greek men had for their wives and sisters to the extent that they kept them under maximum protection and surveillance. Greek fathers and brothers also did not trust other men around their females: 'Greek standards of modesty demanded that women be protected from any sort of physical contact with any man not her husband.'[7] Kalanga men, as they appear in available literature, were not any different when it came to the 'protection' and requirements of modesty to their wives, although they differed greatly from the Archaic Greeks in that they (Kalanga) practice(d) polygamy while the Greeks did not. Unlike Greek males of the period under study, there is no evidence in oral literature that Kalanga men were openly homosexual either. Further, attention is also given to eco-criticism and the way myth and didactic poetry demonstrate ecological awareness. A consideration of poetry from an ecological perspective can tell us more about an animal's real life outside myth, something which cultural readings do not always address. So, this chapter investigates the way animals are used to teach the art of love, asking the question: what is it in an animal that influences its deployment in myth?

6.3 The good choice of a wife/husband

The two wisdom literatures under comparison also give advice on the personality of the spouse that a person should get married to. Generally, the advice is a) never marry a stranger; b) marry a productive spouse. For example, Hesiod (*Op.* 698–705) advises the eligible bachelor to ensure that his wife does not make him a joke in the eyes of his community (μὴ γείτοσι χάρματα γήμῃς,

[7] Cole (1984), 97.

701), which serves to emphasize the importance of modesty in a wife. On the other hand, Matshakayile-Ndlovu relates the story of girls who met and fell in love with lions (while the lions were still in their human forms). These lions kept the girls well-fed, with the intention of eating them at a later stage. One day, the lions went out hunting and came back without success. They came back home with the intention of eating the girls, but the girls were rescued by a frog who swallowed them and so saved them from the lions. The girls' parents give the frog an ox which the hyena drives for the frog. The hyena is duped to go and bring a coal (the setting sun), and while the hyena is gone, the frog transfers all the meat into the water, thereby duping the hyena of the meat.[8] While this tale emphasizes the man-eating habits of lions, ecologically speaking, its major aim is to advise people not to fall in love with strangers. Here the lion is the ineligible other, the stranger that people should not trust or immediately fall in love with.

Similarly, in yet another Ndebele tale whose music is in Kalanga, *uZunguza inyoni yomfula*, 'Zunguza the River Bird', a man called Zunguza met and married a beautiful woman. Unknown to him, this lady was a bird, and every day she would go to the river, purportedly to fetch some water. Getting there, the lady would metamorphose into a bird and start eating frogs, singing her song:

'Zunguza Zunguza Zunguza	Zunguza Zunguza Zunguza
Zunguzani Zunguza Zunguza	Zunguzani Zunguza Zunguza
Watata bakadzi bose	He chased away all his wives
Zunguza Zunguzani Zunguza	
Wasiya shiri[9] *yogwizi yoga*	

[8] Matshakayile-Ndlovu (1995), 230.

[9] Although the tale is narrated in the Ndebele language, the music is Kalanga, but the word *shiri*, 'bird' is (Shona). Kalanga for bird is *nyunyi*. Cf. *Tjinyunyi babili, komba woga tjowuluka*, 'Catching a little bird requires two people, if you are alone, it may escape you, (Tr. 1) discussed in Chapter 4.' In fact, Kalanga orthography does not have the

Zunguza! Zunguza!Zunguzani.[10]	Zunguza Zunguzani Zunguza Now he is left with only a river-bird Zunguza! Zunguza! Zunguzani! (Translation mine)

The poetics of these lyrics is that they appear as songs within folktales. A good storyteller is always ready to sing during the narration of a folktale. The audience is also expected to join in and sing along in this active participation.[11] One can check the variation of the position of the emphatic suffix 'Zunguza*ni*' as it is positioned first, second and third in the verses. The suffix could be merely emphatic, with the varying position *–ni* being an elegant variation for the purposes of singing during the performance of the song. The relevance of this is that the song is in Kalanga, yet it appears in a Ndebele folktale.

In this story, the man actually divorced all his elder and human wives in favour of this young and beautiful bird-woman. In the song the bird mocks this man for chasing away all his real wives and is now left with the bird-woman only. Again, it is difficult to believe that the woman really changed into a bird, unless one chooses to read witchcraft and magic into the narrative. The attribute of changing into a bird that eats frogs should describe some dirty habit or another that the woman performed when she was alone. The choice of the river-bird creates negative associations with mud and frogs that would stir feelings of repugnance on the audience. There is no further criticism of the animal imagery in my source, hence the story remains open to further interpretation.

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letter 'r.' This is one of the distinctions between Kalanga and Central Shona. Another explanation is that this story was told quite recently (1994) when most people were reasonably multilingual.

[10] Matshakayile-Ndlovu (1995), 241.

[11] Mhlabi (2000), 11.

This story also warns those intending to marry not to focus much on looks as good looks may come with a bad personality — a doglike personality, as it were, although there is no specific mention of this in the story. Stories of girls who fall in love with lions or ogres are mainly designed to caution people not to fall in love instantly, a very prudent exercise as one might not know the nature (ἦθος) of the person. In a love poem entitled, *Wahagwa nemoyo wangu*, 'The Beloved', Dumani praises the beloved's background using the proverb *Mhembgwe ludzi yazwagwa inalutoba* (Cf. Tr. 10) 'a duiker belongs to the family, if born with a spot.' [translations mine]. [12] The interpretation of the proverb is that, 'a child belongs to the family if it has a familiar trait': for example, if one has a loving mother, she too will be loving. These folktales that feature people who go against popular opinion when it comes to love have a faint resonance with Epimetheus' failure to heed Prometheus' instruction in the story of Pandora.

Looking at women and economic productivity, Hesiod comments on the economic dependence of women in his society, when he compares them to drones that eat what the bees (men) have prepared. In his extended simile of bees and drones (*Theog*. 594–602) Hesiod uses drones (male bees) to represent women, and female bees to represent men. However, Hesiod's inversion of the bees' sexes should not be over-emphasised, as he shows cultural knowledge of the bees' gender roles, where drones are used to describe idle men (*Op.* 303–7). Sussman notes that in the simile where men are represented as drones, the meaning is that they would have lost social status because of their failure to work. On the other hand, women have the option of being idle, while

[12] Dumani (2015), uses the proverb to praise the beloved persona's family background. The persona does this by comparing his beloved with her mother, who gave him *hadza lehogwana*, 'thick porridge from refined meal', 37.

men do not.[13] The position of the simile is at the end of the myth of Prometheus and Pandora, which concludes by explaining that a good woman is the best a man can get, as men cannot gainfully escape marriage, despite all the negative things that the poet associates women with.

In Semonides (fr. 7.83), the industrious bee is the only symbol of a good woman, as opposed to the other types of women. In this case, it seems Hesiod has inverted the roles of bees and drones with the aim of presenting women as helpers only in times of success. The Hesiodic epithet, κακῶν ξυνήονας ἔργων, 'accustomed to evil deeds' (*Theog.* 595) that describes the drones seems more likely to be a description of a female character than a male one, according to Hesiod's general treatment of women. Hesiod either lacks the knowledge of distinguishing between bees from drones, or deliberately turns their roles upside-down to achieve poetic ends at the expense of demonstrating cultural knowledge. Zeitlin offers an alternative reading whereby the woman-drone represents the lazy woman. The one who performs her household chores can still be the bee-woman. The man becomes a drone when he becomes emasculated and starts living off the toil of others 'like a woman.'[14]

On the other hand, however, Canevaro offers an alternative reading of the seemingly misogynistic passages in Hesiod by noting that the advice is not necessarily to avoid women or marriage. Rather, one must tread with caution.

> 'Despite this negative characterization, women can fit into Hesiod's vision of the ideal *oikos* when they fulfil a low-risk role — although even in that case some suspicion remains.

[13] Sussman (1978), 28.
[14] Zeitlin (1996), 70.

> For example, the tender-skinned maiden is described through a vignette surprisingly gentle in tone.' [15]

The description of this particular maiden in endearing terms illustrates that Hesiod is not completely misogynistic, as he sometimes treats women in tender terms.

In the Kalanga society of subsistence farming, a man married many wives so that they would work and produce more food. It is wrong to confine this phenomenon to the peasantry alone, as the nobility also showed similar traits. Huffman says:

> 'Throughout southern Africa in the recent past, settlement size was related to political power because of the unequal distribution of wealth. As a rule the senior leader was the wealthiest person in his nation, accumulating more cattle than anyone else through death dues, court fines, tributes, raids and the high bride price of his daughters.... because of his wealth, the senior leader had more wives, more fields, more followers and more court officials and therefore the largest settlement....'[16]

From the above, we notice the paradox that one has to be rich (have commodities for bride-price) in order to become richer (that is, have more wives who produce more food). In most African communities, a man must pay bride price, usually in the form of cattle to marry a wife, hence one has to be rich in order to have many wives. As a result most proverbs that focus on the economic relationship between women and substance (food) usually portray women as a source of labour while their Archaic, and even Classical Greek, counterparts spend most of their time in

[15] Canevaro (2013), 192.
[16] Huffman (2000), 17.

the house, as has been noted by Wolkow and Wickkiser.[17] A person who spends the day in the house has a better chance of wasting substance than one who spends the day out.

Some proverbs also portray the difficulties that come with having many wives as they are prone to fight, for example, *Nzi nkulu ibheta lopetesa ngombe - Bakadzi banjisa bonkupa zwibhayo ngelufu nokwegula*, 'A big homestead is a fold that can *fold* cattle: too many wives will give you sufferings, death and old age,' (Tr.42).[18] This entails the difficulties associated with marrying numerous wives, and the stress one may suffer at their hands, listed here as sufferings, death and old age. This view resonates with the general misogynistic character of Greek Archaic Age discourse as exemplified by the caution that Hesiod gives about Pandora and women in general (cf. *Op*. 705), and Agamemnon's remarks to Odysseus from *Od*. 11.432–34 and 456. Canevaro also notes the troubles women bring to their husbands, as indicated by the ability of women to burn a man without a brand, a gift Epimetheus gets, paradoxically ἀντὶ πυρός, 'in exchange for fire.' Canevaro notes the difference between this passage and another one at *Od.* 15.357, indicating that in the *Odyssey* men grow older when their wives die.[19] In this small section, it has emerged that the choice of a spouse is not just an individual decision but a communal one as well. While the Kalanga advises both men and women on the choice of a spouse, it seems that the Greek emphasis is on giving advice to men only. The reason for this is the largely masculine

[17] Wolkow (2007), 257. Also, Wickkiser (2010), 565.
[18] All my interviewees were not able to give me a translation of *bheta*, or its relationship with cattle. In my and their understanding, *bheta* is the Kalanga name for the month of February. In my view, the reason why our discussions could not yield an answer is the oldness of the Kalanga language. The only reason why I discuss this proverb is its interpretation, and the appearance of the word 'cattle' in the proverb, despite the fact that I do not understand how it should be translated. My inclusion of the word 'fold' is speculative, based on the Kalanga verb '*peta*' (impert. 'Fold')
[19] Canevaro (2013), 190.

gender of the audience to which the Greek poetry is addressed, as well as the gender of the authors.

6.4 Reflections on Gender: sex and sexuality.

In this section I will argue that Eros, or Love, is mainly based on sexual attraction between humans. As such, most wisdom literature around the area of erotic didactics revolves around the control of a spouse's sexuality. Normally, both traditions under study suggest that people must not have too much sex (like horses), nor with too many people (like dogs). In both cases, animals are used to classify human sexual habits and exemplify human social order. Animal species are a ready-to-use classifer that humans use to exemplify their social order. In this sense animals are 'good to think with'. In his discussion of the various anthropological theories used to explain the widespread phenomenon of totemism C. Levi-Strauss concludes that specific animals are chosen as totems for particular clans not because they are 'good to eat' but because of their metaphorical potential (they are 'good to think [with]') even when they do not exhibit (in real behaviors) the same habits as humans.[20] Tambiah also concurs that the connection between people and animals is not causal but metaphorical.[21]

Going back to the subject of sexuality, there has been a lot of speculation on whether animals have sex for recreational purposes as humans do. Some ancients held on to a belief that animals have sex only for reproduction. Lucretius, for example, uses animals as comparands for humans in a discussion that certainly links sex to reproduction (Lucr. 4.1263–67, for the increased

[20] Levi-Strauss (1964), 89. I am grateful to one of the anonymous examiners for alerting me to this.
[21] Tambiah (1969), 423.

chances of conception by having sex *more ferarum*). But Lucretius also gives a picture that dogs derive pleasure from sex, just as humans do (4.1203–7). Virgil then takes up this idea in *G*. 3. 242–44 and 255–59 but inverts it; animals, like humans, suffer the pangs of love.

Recent observations on animals like rats, monkeys and other animals have demonstrated the possibility that sex among animals has functions other than reproduction.[22] In human societies, however, consensual recreational sex is common. In both the Kalanga and Greek traditions, there emerges a sense that accessing sex requires some form of control. In wisdom literatures which aim to control sex, one finds the substitution of a literal equivalent (an animal in this case) for an abstraction such as fidelity or unfaithfulness. The purpose of this is to educate people on the importance of regulating sex.[23]

6.4.1 Dogs: proto-type of sexual immorality

Comparing people with dogs is common in Kalanga literature, usually with the intention of criticising loose sexual morality. A.W. Chebani relates a Kalanga tale of a man who refuses his parents' choice of a wife for him, and unwittingly marries a composite creature composed of a human body and the tail of a dog.[24] Obviously, there are no such creatures in verifiable human experience, so that the dog, as in Greek literature, is a symbol of some unspecified personality traits rather than the description of a real creature. Although the story does not list the other

[22] Sharma & Sharma (2006), 158.
[23] Silk (1974), 10; Suckhov (1973) identifies thinking in terms of images as one of man's most important intellectual activities, 5.
[24] Chebani (2001), 11.

attributes of this 'woman', one can safely guess that perhaps her personal disposition was more inclined towards loose sexual tendencies, among other negative attributes.[25] The anger of her husband, and their subsequent separation when he discovers that she has a dog's tail support the view that she could have been adulterous, otherwise, she would not have fled after her discovery.

In the old (traditional) Kalanga world, the major reasons for divorce were adultery on the part of the woman, as well as accusations of witchcraft. The men were polygamous, so the stereotype of being an adulterer did not stick onto men as strongly as it did on women who had multiple sexual partners. Either way, the canine aspect of this newlywed woman adds to the negativity associated with the dog character. It is not clear that the canine element in the woman-dog represents sexual attributes alone, but there is a good chance that it does. The promythion to the story supports such an analysis: 'When it comes to choosing a marriage partner, people look at different things. Some go for beauty as was this man of the past [sic].'[26] Her lament as she attempts to chop her tail off is reminiscent of a sinner who wishes to repent, as her sins make her feel less human.

Gega! Ndashaya Nkanyanganya	Hey! Nkanyanganya,
Ndashaya shathu	I lack an axe.
Gega! Athubula mwise wangu	Hey! I would cut off my tail,
Gega! Nkanyanganya abe nkadzi se	Hey! Nkanyanganya,
Bamwe, kwai! Gega.[27]	And be a woman like others, *kwai!* Hey!

[25] Kalanga discourse generally describes any promiscuous person as a dog, whether they are male or female.
[26] Chebani (2001), 11.
[27] Chebani (2001),11.

Summarily, the woman lacks an axe which she can use to chop off her tail and be like other women. The expression '*kwai!*' mimics the yelp of a dog in pain. The epimythion to the story is another proverb that demonstrates that men do not, or should not trust beautiful women: 'The nose of the beautiful one stinks'.[28]

Cristiana Franco has argued that it is difficult to pinpoint the exact human trait that the dog metaphor represents in the ancient Greek imagination.[29] I am inclined to follow her line of argument, even for Kalanga data, because it is not very clear what the dog is antonomastic for.[30] Franco says, 'The only certainty here is that the dog functioned as an insult in a wide range of contexts — and that it is not always easy to specify what precise property of *kyon* the metaphor is meant to reference'[31]

Despite this, the story is, in my view, a caution to those who wish to go against the views of their parents when it comes to issues of marriage (where the person's character should take priority), in favour of a woman's sexual allure. The story also warns those intending to marry not to focus much on looks, as good looks may come with a bad personality — a doglike personality, in this case. Although I am aware of the numerous possibilities that the dog metaphor can yield, I will conjecture that the dog aspect in this woman is largely sexual, basing on my hypothesis that Eros

[28] Chebani 2001, 11.
[29] Franco (2014) gives a range of insults that the vocative *kyon!* covers. These include greed, cowardice, treachery, irritancy and vulgarity, 7.
[30] An example of a Kalanga proverb that features a dog outside the erotic context is, *Matukuta embwa anopelela mubukuse: Imbwa yabulaya muka inowopiwa makuse koga*, 'A dog's sweat ends in its fur: if a dog has killed an animal, it is given fur only' (Tr. 264). This was handled in chapter five.
[31] Franco (2014), 10. She proposes that instead of speculating on the meanings of various dog symbols, we should rather ask why the dog was capable of serving as the term of censure for such a range of behaviours, 10.

is primarily sexual. By fusing a dog's features into the woman, the Kalanga fable of the woman-dog aims at teaching people from marrying against social order.

The refusal of the man to accept his parents' choice of a wife for him can be broadly compared to Epimetheus' failure to heed Prometheus' advice not to accept any gift from Zeus. In his description of the creation of the first mortal woman in Greek myth, Hesiod mentions that one of her many adornments was the mind of a bitch — a gift, from Hermes, the god of thieves and perfidy.

> ἐν δὲ θέμεν κύνεόν τε νόον καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος
> Ἑρμείην ἤνωγε, διάκτορον Ἀργεϊφόντην. *Op*. 67–68

> 'And he (Zeus) ordered the guide Hermes, the slayer of Argus, to put inside her the mind of a bitch and a deceitful nature.'

The adjective κύνεόν is sometimes loosely translated to mean 'shameless or unabashed,'[32] yet it literally denotes 'of, or like a dog', hence 'bitchy' even in that ancient context.[33] The adjective is built on the stem of κύων, dog or bitch. Although these lines do not have explicit sexual connotations, they directly describe Pandora as 'doglike,' while underscoring the underlying misogynistic perception of women in Hesiod's poetry. Again, Franco has argued that the adjective *has* sexual connotations. The mind of a bitch that Zeus orders Hermes to put into

[32] Evelyn-White (1964), 7. In his interpretation of the statue of the Athena Parthenos, J.M. Hurwit translates it as '…the mind of a bitch' (1995), 175. Likewise, West (1978) translates κύνεόν to mean woman's desirability which is associated with wicked qualities, 160. Wender says '…the morals of a bitch' (1973), 61. For Verdenius (1985), κύνεόν means 'impudent', 53.

[33] Franco (2014), translates the adjective as 'bitchy', and notes that the term is one of disparagement, 3.

Pandora is never mentioned by the time Hermes executes the order: instead, he places into her 'lies and seductive words.'[34] Thus, Franco deduces that this 'mind of a bitch' is implicitly sexual.

There is debate on the interpretation of the name 'Pandora'. M. L. West says, 'The reason given is not sufficient to account for her having that name...'[35] on the other hand, Verdenius suggests that the name does not mean 'endowed with everything', nor 'endowed by all (the gods)', but rather 'Present of all (the gods)'. Verdenius bases his argument on the fact that a number of gods contribute to her appearance and personality.[36] However, in *Brill's New Pauly* s.v. 'Pandora', the name Pandora means 'She who gives everything', because she brought all evils to mankind.[37] Thus, the meaning of her name is debatable, with some authors identifying it as an epithet that describes a chthonic goddess, Earth Mother, Anesidora.[38] One vase included in *LIMC* 7 s.v. 'Pandora' represents Pandora rising from the earth, with Hermes and Hephaestus standing nearby.[39] The evidence from visual art seems to support the view that Pandora would be more linked to the chthonic goddess, Anesidora.

Hesiodic etymology does not give better clarity because grammatically, it can be that the gods gave Pandora a gift each, inasmuch as it is possible that they gave her as a gift. West prefers the interpretation where she is 'given as a gift' because it was the giving of her that was

[34] Franco (2014), 130.
[35] West (1978), 164.
[36] Verdenius (1985), 58.
[37] Cancick (2011), 436.
[38] See also, Marquardt (1982), who also attests to the representation of Pandora in a red figure crater, and kylix of the same date. In these appearances, Pandora is an earth goddess, and Anesidora (She who sends up gifts), 285-6. Also, Verdenius (1985), 59.
[39] *LIMC* 7.2, p. 100, no. 4, Oppermann *LIMC* 7.1 (1981), 164–65.

πῆμ᾽ ἀνδράσιν, not the making of her.[40] To reconcile this textual ambiguity, I will settle for the reading that the gods gave her a gift each, before giving her to Epimetheus 'as a gift.' My choice is based on gifts which the gods give her while she is being created. The gifts that Zeus orders the other gods to give her emphasise female sexuality; they include a lovely maiden-shape, grace, cruel longing and the arts. A doglike mind is her gift from Hermes. It is therefore possible that Pandora's attributes should include infidelity, as the phrase ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος, 'deceitful nature' comes right after κύνεόν…νόον, 'the mind of a bitch' (line 67). The adjective also denotes a tendency to steal, but according to Franco, Pandora (women?) steal from men through deception and seduction.[41] Franco also calls this tendency robbery because the women do not earn livelihood through honesty and justice.[42] There are a few other reasons why Hesiod would compare her to a dog, except for the illustration of sexual license. Dogs have acquired universal infamy as a foil for negative characterisation, which also includes adultery. Kenaan is of the view that since Pandora's behaviour is not specified, the audience is left to speculate that sexuality, seduction and language constitute her evil.[43] Other alternatives include deceit and gullibility,[44] character traits that can still be read along the lines of unfaithfulness in sexual relations, hence making the dog to be a symbol of liberal sexuality.

Later in the poem, the woman uses her αἰμύλα (deceptive words) and πυγοστόλος (*derriere*) to get financial benefits from men.[45] The fact that she receives this attribute from Hermes the god

[40] West (1978), 167.
[41] Franco (2014), 130.
[42] Franco (2014), 3.
[43] Kenaan (2008), 9.
[44] West (1978), 160.
[45] Fraser (2007), 24, and Canevaro (2012), 185-6. Marquardt interprets πυγοστόλος as referring to a style of female dress which emphasises the buttocks, thus denoting the sexual allure of Pandora.

of thieves also adds to the observation that Hesiod wants to present women as untrustworthy. The metaphor of the dog stands for a perceived negative attribute among women that borders around their sexuality.

Where they appear in wisdom literary contexts, dogs are usually used to depict negative human character traits, although it would be a gross generalisation to say dogs always stand for the bad. At *Od*. 20.13–16, when the suitors go to sleep with the maids in Odysseus' palace, the dog is used to depict positive human qualities because Odysseus' angry heart is paralleled to a dog protecting her puppies against a stranger. According to Rabel, this simile illustrates Odysseus' psychological state (anger).[46] It is important to note that Odysseus' anger at the suitors' insolence is justified because they are invading his private space. This shows that there are instances where dogs have some positive attributes, for example in Odysseus' own faithful dog (protectiveness). Another example can be seen in Plato who gives dogs as the exemplar or guardians, (*Republic* 375E–376). Otherwise, by and large, the dog is culturally and class dependant because it depends on people for food and shelter. In *Iliad* 18.395–96 Hephaestus calls his mother a bitch (μητρὸς ἐμῆς ἰότητι κυνώπιδος), for throwing him down.

Iliad 21.481–8 is a quaint passage where the gods have joined the mêlée, and Hera gives Artemis a hiding. First, Hera calls Artemis a bitch (κύον ἀδεὲς, 481), and, towards the end of the passage, when Artemis is running away, she is likened to a dove that flees away from a falcon (493–95). The passages from Homer and Hesiod that I have just mentioned illustrate the use of κύων as an insulting word that the society assigns largely to women. For Hesiod to associate Pandora with

[46] Rabel (2005), 76.

the mind of a bitch indicates the intention by Hesiod to use the image of a dog to represent her as a bad person.[47] There is a propensity among most of Pandora's charms that leans towards an excessive sexuality, given allusively in the character of a dog.

Further characteristics that associate the dog character with adultery appear in the Traczyk collection, *Tjilipilila tjembwa ungholo wayo*, 'A dog's skull is its reward.' The provided exegesis of the proverb reads, *Imbwa ipinga kene ikwiba kulekule, ayafa mowoyiziba ngongholo wayo*, 'It is a dog when it is mating (*ipinga*) or stealing in faraway places; when it has died, you will identify it by the shape of its skull,' (Tr. 168). In terms of ecological awareness, this admonitory proverb describes real events that can happen in a dog's life as it goes about its daily business, although it is primarily directed at people. In this proverb and its exegesis, the dog's business as it roams around is described along lines of sex, and stealing. So far, the dog metaphor has been one of best images for negative presentation, mainly adultery.

In this Kalanga proverb, the dog is male. This suggests that the Kalanga proverb is modelled as a caution for males rather than for females. Male dogs are the ones that go around looking for females in estrus. The verb *pinga*, 'bed' (in a sexual sense) is active; if a female dog were the subject the passive form *pingiwa* 'be bedded', would be used. In light of this, one can therefore argue that Kalanga thought also depicts the infidelity of men using imagery based on dogs. To understand this, one can picture a man who sleeps with other men's wives as such a man may

[47] For other appearances of the adjective and its cognates, see also Hom. *Od.* 11.424, and 7.216.

suffer harm in the hands of the man with whose wife he is sleeping. According to this proverb, such a man may find himself in trouble which may even lead to death.

At the same time the cultural value of the proverb above means that people must look after their dogs so that they do not stray and go around stealing from other people's households — a very relevant point, ecologically speaking. At times, the interests of dogs clash with those of human beings. A dog looking for food is at risk of suffering harm at the hands of human beings. Likewise, humans who interfere with the objectives of dogs may get attacked. The summation of the Kalanga proverb above is that while they search for Eros, people should not stray too far into other people's marital territories as this may get them hurt, as happens to stray dogs.

Turning back to the Greek, Semonides also describes another breed of women as follows.

> τὴν δ᾽ ἐκ κυνὸς λιτοεργόν, αὐτομήτορα,
> ἣ πάντ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι, πάντα δ᾽ εἰδέναι θέλει,
> πάντη δὲ παπταίνουσα καὶ πλανωμένη
> λέληκεν, ἢν καὶ μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷ.
> παύσειε δ᾽ ἄν μιν οὔτ᾽ ἀπειλήσας ἀνὴρ
> οὐδ᾽ εἰ χολωθεὶς ἐξαράξειεν λίθῳ
> ὀδόντας, οὔτ᾽ ἂν μειλίχως μυθεύμενος,
> οὐδ᾽ εἰ παρὰ ξείνοισιν ἡμένη τύχῃ·
> ἀλλ᾽ ἐμπέδως ἄπρηκτον αὐονὴν ἔχει.
> Sem. 7.12–20 Edmonds

> Another of a Bitch, a busybody like her mother,
> one that would fain hear all, know all, and peering
> and prying everywhere barketh e'en though she see
> nothing; a man cannot check her with threats, no, not if in
> anger he dash her teeth out with a stone, nor yet though he
> speak gently with her, even though she be sitting among
> strangers — she must needs keep up her idle baying. (Trans.
> Edmonds, 219).

The epithet for the dog, λιτοργόν, describes the dog as 'vicious'.[48] This exacerbates the case of the dog as it has so far proven to be always the ready and available symbol for bad. The adjective does not appear elsewhere in Greek lyric poetry. In his reception of Semonides 7, Phocylides (fr. 2) reduces the number of animals to four, that is the bitch, the bee, sow, and mare. Adjectives that describe the bitch are that she is irritable and ill-mannered (χαλεπή τε καὶ ἄγριος). Marylin B. Arthur notes that the reception of Semonides' satire by Phocylides not only indicates that misogyny had established itself as a *topos* of Greek poetry by the seventh century B.C., but also that it had already associated misogyny with a certain set of conventions, represented by the choice of certain animals to satirize particular character traits among women.[49]

Semonides' treatment of the dog metaphor resonates with a traditional Shona poem that was transcribed by A. C. Hodza, and appears in a critical work by George Fortune.

Mukadzi imbwa irere,
Unoimutsira kudya inokuruma.

A woman is a sleeping dog,
If you rouse it for food, it will bite you.[50]

In the poem, the dog (*imbwa*) does not represent adultery but, like Semonides, the poem uses the dog to represent the ambiguity of woman (*mukadzi*).[51] This example from Shona poetry

[48] Lloyd-Jones (1975), 40.

[49] Arthur (1984), 47. See also, Brown (1997), 26.
[50] Fortune (1977), looks at, 'linking and parallelism as techniques for placing images in relation with each other through the construction and juxtaposition of suitable linguistic frames', 67.
[51] Fortune (1977), 70.

illustrates that the dog metaphor can cover large area of human temperaments.[52] However, while Semonides does not use the dog image to explicitly decry loose sexual morals,[53] Archilochus (Fr. 196a West, lines 39–41) also claims that Neobule is as eager for sex as a bitch, and will give birth to puppies. This is an insult because a female dog will mate with numerous males when in heat, hence this image, obviously based on the observation of real dogs, casts Neobule as a loose woman with an insatiable sex drive.[54] One needs to note that the presentation of women as bitches is self-defeating as it means that men also queue for sex.

The discussion on the use of dogs in the erotic didactic has revealed that in both Kalanga and Greek wisdom literatures, the dog symbolises negative character traits that include, but are not necessarily limited to, the sexual. While the dog represents females in Greek orature, in Kalanga it also includes the men. The reason for this is that most Greek literature under study is authored by males, and holds up the misogynistic values of the individual author as dictated by the author's personal experience(s), for example Archilochus. On the other hand, however, Kalanga orature, being communal property, may also be used by women to attack the loose sexual morality of their men.

[52] Cf. Franco (2014), 10.
[53] West (1978), While West is commenting on Hesiod *Op.* 67, he reminds the reader that the character of the dog is inquisitiveness, while promiscuity is attributed to the donkey, 160.
[54] Burnett (1983) notes that obscenity was a more efficient counterpart of the animal fable because it reduced the person being attacked to a state of bestiality, 77.

6.4.2 Reflections on childbirth

Both traditions seem to hold the female reproductive health system in awe, if not with a touch of envy. Hesiod implies (*Op.*753–55f.) that women are unhygienic and advises that a man should not wash his body using water in which a woman has bathed as there is mischief in that act, for a long time. West's comment on this passage is that men fear losing their masculinity if they bathe using water in which a woman has already washed because this would involve gaining the properties of women.[55] A similar view can be seen in Zeitlin's comment about the fears that men have about women and sex. Zeitlin notes that Greek men feared the 'potential imbalance' that supposedly came as a result of sexuality.[56] Sadly, these axioms do not feature animals, but they do illustrate the androcentric and misogynistic approach that Hesiod adopts in the whole of the *Works and Days*, a view that generally represents the body of Archaic Age literature.

In Kalanga wisdom literature like proverbs, women's predicaments especially after childbirth are sometimes put across as follows: *Simba zwele ayina bukuse bubuya: Awulinzwele awunatjitjo tjibuyanana*, 'A civet cat that has just given birth does not have comely fur: when you have just given birth you have nothing good,' (Tr. 86). Civet cats are regarded as beautiful, hence this proverb offers a view of the problems that women who have recently given birth face. This could also refer to the negative effects of childbirth on women, for example backaches, sweating, bleeding, and so on. While this idiom does not define the indices of the 'good' that a newly-delivered woman lacks, attention is directed at the negative result that the birthing process brings

[55] West (1978), 343.
[56] Zeitlin (1996), 59.

about in a woman, represented here by lack of comely fur on a civet cat.[57] This importance of fur or hair can also be compared to the views about women's tresses when they are placed side by side with horses' manes in Semonides' and Alcman's poetry, which I will discuss later in this chapter. One can observe from these two examples that female sexuality, which culminates in giving birth, is also attested to in the depiction of human reproductive health.

6.5 The Fox/ vixen: symbol of a deceitful wife

In his diatribe against women, Semonides uses a variety of animals to make declarations on women's characters. He describes the nature of some women in the following terms:

> τὴν δ᾽ ἐξ ἀλιτρῆς θεὸς ἔθηκ᾽ ἀλώπεκος
> γυναῖκα πάντων ἴδριν· οὐδέ μιν κακῶν
> λέληθεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων.
> τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἶπε πολλάκις κακόν ἔχει,
> τὸ δ᾽ ἐσθλόν· ὀργὴν δ᾽ ἄλλοτ᾽ ἀλλοίην ἔχει.
> Semonides 7. 7–11.
>
> Another did God make of a knavish Vixen, a
> woman knowing in all things, who taketh note of all,
> be it bad or good, for the bad often calleth she good
> and the good bad; and she hath now this mood and
> now that. (Trans. Edmonds, 217).

The adjective ἀλιτρῆς which describes the fox, (ἀλώπεκος) means 'knavish', or 'roguish'. The fox-woman knows everything, be it good or bad. The *Suda* α 1163, 1258, 1262 links ἀλιτρὸς and its derivatives with ἁμαρτωλός (sinner). The adjective also appears in the *Iliad* where Athena

[57] In *Nau.* we are told that a man had to keep some distance from his wife after she had just given birth. The couple would only get together after drinking a ritual drink (3.14).

complains to Hera about the mind of Zeus. The goddesses are contemplating rescuing the Argives from a Trojan onslaught, and Athena thinks that Zeus' mind is αἰὲν ἀλιτρός, 'always knavish' (8.361), and so he cannot be trusted. In his hymn to Zeus, Theognis wonders at the mind of Zeus who sometimes holds the good and the vile with the same esteem:

> πῶς δή σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμᾷ νόος ἄνδρας ἀλιτροὺς
> ἐν ταὐτῇ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν,
> ἤν τ᾽ ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῇ νόος, ἤν τε πρὸς ὕβριν
> ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκοις ἔργμασι πειθομένων;
>
> Thgn. 1.377–80 Edmonds

> How then is it, Son of Cronus, that Thy mind can
> bear to hold the wicked and the righteous in the same
> esteem, whether a man's mind be turned to temperateness, or,
> unrighteous works persuading, to wanton outrage? (Trans. Edmonds)

In this context, the adjective is applied to ἄνδρας and is placed in proximity to the name/ mind of Zeus, suggesting that it is a trait that concerns the gods, at least. Pindar (*O*. 2.59) treats ἀλιτρά (neut. pl.) as 'sins'. The duplicity of Semonides' character is heightened because she calls bad things good, and good things bad. Semonides presents her as a distress to men. The image of the fox makes her deceptive or knavish nature quite clear, hence men must be wary of marrying such women.

The interpretation and translation of Kalanga proverbs into other languages is an exciting venture as there are sometimes disagreements on the meaning of the proverb. An example of this is the Kalanga proverb that seeks to advise on love matters is**,** *Mhungubwe njendi njendi inobuya*

nensungo wolubwa', translated variously to mean: 'A fox, because it likes to move around a lot, was caught in a snare that was originally meant for a dog', (= the fox outfoxed). Another possibility is, 'A fox that likes to move around comes back with a chain of dogs.' In an interview I held with Mr. Charles Zwane, the band-leader of Ndolwane Super Sounds, whose music abounds with Kalanga proverbs, the band-leader at that time, Mr. Charles Zwane translated and interpreted the Kalanga proverb cited above in the following manner (a): 'A fox, because it likes to move around a lot, was caught in a snare that was originally meant for a dog.' Mr. Zwane's opinion is that the fox is chosen as a symbol in this idiom because, 'like the hyena, it is an opportunistic animal.'[58] He interpreted the proverb's moral as an advice to people to desist from deviant behaviour as they will find themselves in trouble, for example, indiscriminate sex leads to HIV/AIDS.[59]

Here, pretentions to being 'clever' are equated with the fox's (and jackal's) habits. The fox/jackal is therefore used as a parody of false wisdom — the type of cunning that is likely to backfire. The interpretation of the proverb in the Traczyk collection is, 'A *person* who likes visiting other *people's* homes comes back with crimes' (Tr. 15). Using images of the fox and dog, the aphorism manages to supply images of how human beings find themselves in trouble. They begin with a conceited sense of cunning (like a fox) which later backfires and leaves them like lowly dogs.[60] In a discussion about an upcoming Kalanga fiction publication Mr. Pax Nkomo uses the title '*Mhungubwe njendi njendi,*' with a complementary picture of a pack of

[58] This is simply Mr. Zwane's comparison. Naturally, the hyena is not a canid since it belongs to the *hyaenidae*. The analogy is built on the scavenging tactics that the canid animal largely employs.
[59] Interview with Charles Zwane (Ndolwane Super Sounds Band Leader) Harare, Zimbabwe, (14 October 2011).
[60] Cf. Babrius (100. 1–10), and Phaedrus (4.19).

dogs pursuing a fox. Mr. Nkomo explained that the proverb could also mean that the wandering fox brought back a – *nsungo*, 'chain', of dogs in its pursuit. Mr. Nkomo doubts the first interpretation, in which the wandering fox comes back wearing a snare that *has been prepared for a dog.* His translation and interpretation of the proverb is based on the argument that Kalanga people normally do not snare dogs, unless the dog is a habitual thief and does not belong to a particular person. It could also be the case that these snares could be to protect chickens' eggs or some valuables that could be in danger from dogs. Whatever the case, these varied interpretations show us the depth and variety of uses of this one proverb.

Mr. Nkomo's views may be supported on the grounds that the word *sunga* is of great importance in Kalanga language. *Sunga* is the verb 'tie' (imperat.), and the object, if you are fastening a bundle of something like firewood, is a *nsungo* or *swinga.*[61] So, the fox brought back a chain of dogs, as does a bitch literally, because a female dog always has a host of male dogs following it to mate. In this case, a deceitful lover is represented by the fox, being pursued by a 'bunch' of dogs. The dogs represent the numerous troubles that a person in this predicament might have to face. The fox is associated with opportunism and confidence in one's own ability to take those opportunities while ignoring the normal social regulations which restrict behaviour; the confidence is misplaced since there are negative consequences for those who indulge in this opportunism. Yet in Greek folklore the fox *does* often get away with it. Babrius 86 is an example of a fox which does not see the consequences of eating too much while he is in a constrained place.

[61] Interview with Mr. Pax Nkomo's, Harare, Zimbabwe (18 September 2014).

Another important motif in the deployment of the fox in oral literature is the wandering/movement motif, where the fox is depicted as trouble on the move, meeting other animals for better or for worse. By and large though, such types of tales and pointed statements reveal the fox in motion, seeking whom to deceive. One notes the wordplay in the adjective (Tr. 15) that describes the fox: *njendi njendi*, from *yenda*, 'go' in the imperative; to translate literally, 'a fox that *goes-goes* comes back with a dog's snare.' In fact, some of my informants at Diba village pronounced the phrase as *nyendo nyendo* [lit. 'of many journeys'], where both the English translation and the interpretation would remain the same.

In both *njendi njendi* and *nyendo nyendo* (in other versions), attention is directed at the way a fox walks, that is on its toes. *Mhungubwe njendi njendi* is a noun (the name of the fox) that is linked with a reduplicated present participle (going-going), while *mhungubwe nyendo nyendo* is a compound that is built from a noun and a reduplicated genitive participle (a fox of many journeys). This suggests a plasticity of language, mnemonics and onomatopoeia. These forms become formulaic since they are musical. Most Kalanga people that I spoke to were able to recite the proverb, although some of them did not know what the word *njendi njendi* or *nyendo nyendo* actually meant. They remembered the proverb particularly for its musical qualities. These phrases have crystallized into the body of Kalanga language. Bourdillon correctly points out that when idiophones appear in language, the words have a mental association with what they signify.[62] The musical qualities that come with the reduplication have a mnemonic function as well. In my view, the adjective ἀλιτρῆς (sinful) which describes the fox in Semonides resonates with the Kalanga *njendi njendi* because both adjectives describe the fox as a trouble-causer. Both

[62] Bourdillon (1990), 337.

traditions view the fox as a cunning animal. The two traditions are therefore similar in assigning the fox to represent the deceitful lover.

To try and explain these commonalities, T. E. Knight thinks that the narrative structures of most myths are unconscious and culturally sanctioned.[63] Although he does not make this statement with specific regard for animals in folklore, Knight's views imply that this proverb would still have similar effect even when used by a person who had never seen a real fox, hence this cultural sanctioning.[64] 'Unconscious' here does not mean that narrative fictional roles are assigned at random or without reason. The question of why oral traditions assign a cunning character to the fox can be culturally sanctioned when viewed from within a single culture. However, problems arise when we begin to ask why diverse oral traditions, like the Greek and Kalanga, assign a similar character to the fox. I maintain my conclusion that narrative roles are largely influenced by the observation of behavioural patterns of foxes the world over. In those places where people never meet foxes in real life, I think the people are taught of the possible behaviour of these animals through symbolic affordance.

In light of the above, Mr. Cephas Ncube of Diba village believes that the fox is chosen to represent cunning because 'it steals our goats.' His fellow discussants in the interviews of April

[63] Knight 1997, 20.
[64] Knight (1997, 20), thinks that the role of feeling in myth deserves more scrutiny since myth originates in a set of cultural values which subsist in the audience rather as deep-seated feelings than as rational concepts. This view may be true insofar as the explanation of religious feelings (like the feeling of guilt that Knight discusses in his article), but I think it is a generalisation to suggest that animal roles in folklore are also modelled on this cultural sanctioning of myth. Rather, the description of animals' characters is a very deliberate and rational concept.

2011 concurred with this view. One of the interlocutors Mr. Elias Moyo, an elderly man 86 years of age at the time of the interviews, gave an exegesis of this proverb in the following manner:

> *Hha ndikubudza nditi mwanangu usinde hapeya, iwe ulamba unowobuya watjibe mubulemo, pamwe we gwala pamwe watjibe nemilandu.*[65]
>
> 'If I warn you and say no, my child, do not go there [to that *woman*?], and you refuse to listen, you will come back with some trouble, either sick [with AIDS?] or with crimes [unplanned pregnancies?].'

Although he did not specify the type of sickness or crime, it was clear to me what Mr. Moyo was referring to, and I am sure that the information I have inserted in square brackets was viewed as such by the other discussants. The sociolinguistics of contemporary Kalanga discourse is agreed on the use of certain vague terms when referring to certain specific events or issues, for example, if a man impregnates a woman out of wedlock, he is said to have 'committed a crime', *Watjibe nenlandu.* Similarly, when a person is sick, the word *gwala* (be sick) usually means that the person is suffering from an AIDS-related illness. I must hasten to say that this proverb, though twice interpreted along lines of sexual intrigue, does not necessarily have to be confined to this type of activity as it is also applicable to other forms of guileful deception in everyday human life.

In the group interview, Ncube preferred to translate the Kalanga proverb into the Ndebele equivalent, *Isalakutshelwa sibona ngomopho*, 'He that refuses advice learns by bleeding.'[66] This

[65] Interview held at Diba village, 15 April 2011.

means that people should listen to advice as not heeding it might cause trouble. In the prevailing era of HIV/AIDS, we see that most of the warnings have come to be directed against unsanctioned sexual relationships. The prevalence of the disease in most Southern African countries must be behind the current sociolinguistic operation of this proverb. The behaviour and restless nature of the fox observed in real life as it goes around looking for food is thus used to create an analogy for the sexually delinquent in oral literature.

6.6 Equines as symbols of excessive sexuality

In Greek literature, equines have also been used to depict both appearance and sexual trends among humans. Semonides (fr. 7.43-49) also describes one type of woman as a stolid donkey that is much cudgelled (σύν τ' ἐνιπῆισιν, 44), in contrast to one born from a long-maned horse (fr. 7.57–70). Commenting on Hesiod: ἐν δὲ θέμεν κύνεόν τε νόον καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος '...to put inside her the mind of a bitch and a deceitful nature', (*Op.* 67), West reminds us that the dog represents inquisitiveness, while the donkey stands for promiscuity.[67] The view that the ass-woman represents excessive sexuality is taken up by Osborne who reads this sympotic poem as getting 'dirty' by the time we get to the ass-woman and the ferret-woman: 'The activities we are encouraged to see now involve women exposing themselves or engaging in acts of intimacy.'[68] The stolid donkey also gives a picture of a stubborn wife who, although unwilling, completes the tasks given. On the other hand, the horse-woman is simply of delicate quality.

[66] Cephas Ncube, Diba interviews, 15 April 2011.
[67] West (1978), 160.
[68] Osborne (2001), 58.

This also touches on the stereotypes surrounding the economic productivity of women. In ancient societies, horses were not used for hard or difficult work as were donkeys. Therefore, the horse denotes a lazy woman who spends most of her time minding her appearance. She is merely a trophy wife, for display, not for domestic work. Griffith looks at this with a more analytical eye when he notes that the ancient Greeks' structural division between the equids (noble horse vs. servile ass) is a division that is still quite widely held in the modern West.[69] Highly valued for their versatility, endurance and longevity, donkeys were, however, kept separate from the most prestigious activities reserved for horses. Thus, this structural division applied to women in the archaic and modern West. Griffith notes: 'Thus for aristocratic women and finely bred horses alike, the hair on their heads and necks was their crowning glory, an ostentatious sexual symbol, artfully and proudly displayed to all, yet untouchable except by their authorized husband/rider … or their specially designated "maids/grooms".'[70] Griffith also notes that when a horse's mane was allowed to flow unchecked, 'the glory of the long, silky locks floating in the breeze — sometimes clutched between the fingers of the rider —was extremely sexy.'[71] In an article that discusses the use of animals in the categorisation of 'otherness' of weak social groups that include women, Rodriguez holds that '...the choice of the animal name does not seem arbitrary, but, on the contrary, sheds some light onto the expectations and beliefs society holds about males and females.'[72]

[69] Griffith (2006), 307.
[70] Griffith (2006), 310.
[71] Griffith 2006, 308–9 notes that the terms related to the hair of horses' manes (ἔθειρα, θρίξ, κόμη , κομάω) are similar to those for human tresses; no other animal hair except lions' manes seems to be so designated, hence the constant juxtaposition of horse and human coiffure even in visual art as with the *korai* has a pronounced emphasis on tresses.
[72] Rodriguez (2009), 81.

In the same vein, Anacreon (fr. 84) addresses a Thracian coquette in terms of riding her like a horse, just to show that he can. This seems to describe sexual dominance (riding). It shows the poet living his fantasy in the poem, asking the audience to picture him in that sexually dominant position. He is also telling the woman that the reason she exercises so much freedom is because she lacks a strong breaker to dominate her. Catharine A. MacKinnon observes that the male sexual role centres on aggressive intrusion on those with less power.[73] Thus, for 'real men', dominating a horse or a person described in the imagery of a horse should bring more esteem than dominating a donkey.[74] Jones indicates that one of the reasons why donkeys are the preferred draught power in many Southern African communities is because of 'their ease of management, especially by women and children, and their greater endurance and longevity.'[75] This feeds into the question of status. Horses are certainly more beautiful and prestigious as possessions than donkeys. If one can dominate a horse, then they are more powerful than a person who dominates a donkey.[76] Thus, the pairing of women with horses becomes a centre of power for men, who are able to convince women of high class to sleep with them, while the use of donkey imagery illustrates low-class women.

Donkeys are not indigenous to Southern Africa. They were introduced to Southern Africa by the Dutch in 1656.[77] Domesticated equines do not appear in Khoisan rock paintings either, another

[73] MacKinnon (1989), 316.
[74] van Wees (2005) notes the objectification of women in Archaic Greek society, whereby women were viewed as prizes (*aethla*) who were won in competitive courtships like that of Helen, 2.
[75] Jones (2004),197.
[76] Griffith (2006), 310–1) notes that for Semonides, horsiness described the pretentious woman of class who eschewed all household tasks and spent the day bathing, combing her hair and perhaps ordering her husband to make love to her. The poor of the Archaic Age would not be comfortable being married to this type of woman, as Semonides is of the opinion that such a woman would be attractive to a tyrant and not him (Semonides).
[77] Mwenya & Keib (2004), 172.

indication of their recent arrival into Southern Africa. Also, donkeys are never mentioned as prizes, be it for marriage, or even as spoils of war. It is always cattle, sheep and goats.[78] As such, there is nothing to compare between the two traditions as far as donkeys are concerned. Although donkeys are not attested in Kalanga oral traditions, my reason for including them is because of their abundance in buKalanga. A lot of people in buKalanga are not aware of the exotic origin of donkeys.

Archilochus (fr. 43) expresses sexual desire by using the image of a *male* donkey:

ἡ δέ οἱ σάθη
ὡσεί τ᾽ ὄνου Πριηνέος
κήλωνος ἐπλήμμυρεν ὀτρυγηφάγου.

His penis is swollen
Like a donkey from Priene
Taking his fill of barley.
(Trans. Willis Barnstone)

The fragmentary nature of this poem makes it difficult to decide whether Archilochus is celebrating or denigrating this ithyphallic figure.[79] If it is scornful, then the reason Archilochus describes a donkey's penis is to mock the persona's never ending desire for sex, thereby making

[78] Chebani (2001), 49; Wentzel (1983a), 33.
[79] Burnett (1983) thinks that it is possible that the poet is could be praising the endowment of the persona, though scorn is equally possible, 77–8.

the meaning quite explicit. In Greek art, a big penis represents immodesty.[80] Justina Gregory mentions ancient vases that portray donkeys cavorting with satyrs. What is of interest is that satyrs represent excessive sexual desires. This connection between satyrs and donkeys emphasises the high sexual desire of the two creatures.[81] Donkeys and horses seem to have a reputation for lust. In the Old Testament we are told that: 'They were as fed horses in the morning, each one neighing for his neighbour's wife' (Jeremiah 5:8).

The major finding in this section on the use of equines to describe lust is that their role in Greek folklore is inspired by the size of the donkey's and horse's penis, and the graphic way in which these mate. Therefore it would be understandable if a person who sees these equines mating goes on to think of them as a symbol of illicit sex. The tendency (in fact shared by all equines) to strike back when abused, may also have contributed to the stereotype of donkeys as self-willed, reluctant or obstinate, a characterization that overlaps with similar stereotypes about slaves as well.[82] Another discovery is that, in contrast to the abundance of donkeys in southern Africa today, donkeys are not indigenous to this region, as attested by their absence in Kalanga orature. Another all-encompassing observation is that folklore arises out of quotidian contexts and draws on the everyday world of cultural experience.

[80] McNiven (1995), 10.
[81] Gregory (2007), 193.
[82] Gregory (2007), 200.

6.7 Equines in the depiction of patriarchy and class

This section investigates the stratification of equines in the depiction of patriarchy and class. Here I argue that the distinction between various genera of equines can also been interpreted along lines of class. People's economic statuses defined their role in society; if you were born rich then you could as well fold your arms and watch the poor labouring on.[83] Commenting on the comparison of donkeys and lower class women, Gregory says, '...in so far as they mention them at all, as lazy, obstinate, lascivious, greedy and stupid; they [donkeys] are consistently portrayed as inferior to the other equines known to the Greeks, the horse and the mule.'[84] They are constantly shown as inferior and not worth recognizing even by the master/husband till they are called for service. This observation indicates that equine imagery can also be read along lines of class; the depiction of noble women versus that of base women. One can safely say that the ass/donkey is a disparaging image that represents the lowly woman, especially when looking at the stolid woman in Semonides' fragment.

In Homer, a donkey is mentioned in a simile applied to Ajax who is impervious to beating (*Il.* 11.557–62), along with their customary mistreatment and the disposition that has been culturally assigned to donkeys. The difference between the high-class woman and the low-class woman corresponds to that between a horse and a donkey in the equine hierarchy respectively. Semonides' choice of the donkey is not merely poetic, as the poet gives the real-life circumstances of donkeys. The epithet παλιντριβής (rubbed again and again) describes a lazy animal that must be beaten in order for it to work. Semonides is misogynistic in that he finds

[83] Gregory (2007), 193.
[84] Gregory (1997), 193–4.

nothing valuable in all these women except the bee who is constantly hard-working and loyal. These animal images paint a picture that women should be submissive to their husbands. In Semonides' view, the rest of the women are an evil that Zeus created to cause trouble for men.

Semonides strongly opposes the woman who behaves like a horse because she is of high status. He compares women to animals because it is an easy way to dehumanize them. If you dehumanize a person, you are insulting him or her, and animals make the process much easier. This abuse was designed to amuse the poet's masculine audience. On the main, his objective was to achieve partnership in the *oikos*, as can be seen in his praise for the bee-woman.[85]

6.8 Birds as a symbol of love

Besides their use as representations of the bad and unfaithful lovers, animals have also been used to depict the good lover. Although there are no Kalanga equivalents known to me, I find it necessary to briefly mention sparrows as they appear across the body of Archaic Greek poetry, and hence somewhat relevant to this chapter. When she is despairing on account of unrequited love, Sappho takes her time to dwell on the tender sides of Eros, selecting sparrows to represent this tender side of love:

Ποικιλόθρον, ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος, δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε
μή μ' ἄσαισι μήτ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον·

[85] Osborne (2001), 'The bee woman is not presented as one who gratifies her husband, her image also gratifies the listener', 59.

ἀλλὰ τυῖδ' ἔλθ', αἴποτα κἀτέρωτα
τᾶς ἔμας αὔδως ἀΐοισα πήλυι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες

ἄρμ' ὑποζεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἆγον
ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δινεῦντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνω
αἴθερας διὰ μέσσω.

Sappho, fr.1.1–12.

Ornate-throned immortal Aphrodite, wile-weaving
daughter of Zeus, I entreat you: do not overpower
my heart, mistress, with ache and anguish, but come
here, if ever in the past you heard my voice from afar
and acquiesced and came, leaving your father's golden
house, with chariot yoked: beautiful swift sparrows
whirring fast-beating wings brought you above the
dark earth down from heaven through the mid-air,
and soon they had arrived.... (Trans. Campbell, 55)

Here focus must be directed at Aphrodite's birds, the sparrows. Harold Zellner is of the opinion that the στροῦθοι, 'sparrows' (line 10) are deployed in the poem mainly to amuse because they bring about a hyperbolic effect to the poem through their incongruence.[86] However, Denys Page notes that sparrows were 'notorious for their wantonness and fecundity', thereby making it natural that they were thought to symbolise the power of Aphrodite (love), hence justifying Sappho's choice of these birds as the conveyors of Aphrodite's chariot.[87] On the other hand, Snyder finds the use of sparrows in this image strange, but agrees with Page on the association of these birds with fertility, fecundity and Aphrodite herself.[88] Sparrows are closely related to weaverbirds, hence, in this case, Sappho is praising Aphrodite the goddess of love saying she has

[86] Zellner, (2008), 435 & 441.
[87] Page (1965), 7–8.
[88] Snyder (1997), 11.

pretty and swift birds, perhaps of love. The sparrow is an ultimate representation of love even in the time of Catullus (e.g. poems 2 and 3).

In a wedding song, Sappho uses the image of the nightingale ambiguously (fr. 30). Chandler notes that there are four interpretations to this bird's singing. The first is that the bird symbolises the lament of a mother who killed her son, the second interpretation is that the bird symbolises the poet; in the third interpretation the bird is a happy singer of love and springtime, and the fourth interpretation (Middle Ages) represents the nightingale as singing the praises of God.[89] If one considers the fact that the image is embedded in a wedding song (*epithalmia*), then the connection with the nightingale is clearly to encourage the singers to sing of love throughout the night. This is because the nightingale sings throughout the night. In this poem the thrill of love is compared to the song of the nightingale at night. However, it is important to note that the manuscript is corrupt at the point where some translations supply 'nightingale', hence this association is conjectural.[90] Snyder supplies the word 'nightingale' in square brackets, pointing out that the singers' aim is to outdo the proverbial nightingale that sings at night.[91]

However, the consistency of the nightingale as an image of love suffers a blow when one looks at *Od.* 19.518–31. Here Penelope relates her psychological torture at the hands of the suitors by evoking the simile of Philomela, daughter of Pandareus who was changed into a nightingale for killing her own son. This nightingale sings a beautiful song at the start of spring, yet it is a song

[89] Chandler (1934), 82.
[90] Hughes-Fowler (1992), 132.
[91] Snyder (1997), 107–8.

of sorrow for her lost child. Penelope casts the nightingale as a symbol of bad motherhood (and consequently wifehood?), building on the myth of Philomela. Here, Penelope makes Odysseus aware of how she was determined not to be like Philomela.[92] Haddas and Willis sum up this association of women with birds in the following manner: 'In Greek lyric poetry the sound of women's voices was frequently likened to the singing of birds [birds conceived as transformed women in Greek myths, and the conduct and song interpreted by the fortunes which befell the women before her transformation.'[93]

There is no evidence available to me that the Kalanga idiom has an avian symbol of love. Most of the recorded cases seem to suggest that metamorphoses of women into birds are usually deliberate and wrong. Maikano relates the story of a man who married a woman who had the ability to change herself into a dove and was killed by her husband while in that form.[94] Maikano's story, and the story of the river-bird woman seem to be more of attacks against witchcraft than having any erotic symbolism with the birds concerned.

Archilochus (fr. 196a) insults Neobule as a loose woman 'off with her to the crows!' a standard idiom, widespread in Greek. According to Pfeijffer, crows refer to people who lack talent, success and fame. They are inferior men whose lot is darkness and who are liable to be overcome.[95] Although sparrows, nightingales and crows are in abundance in southern Africa, one observes that they do not feature in Kalanga folklore as symbols of love. It is not within my

[92] Rabel (2005),74.
[93] Haddas & Willis (1975), 137.
[94] Maikano (1977), 29.
[95] Pfeijffer (1994), 312.

ability to determine why these birds do not appear as symbols of love in Kalanga folklore. Overally, one can note that the use of birds as symbols of love is rather scarce in both Archaic Greek and Kalanga wisdom literatures.

6.9 Conclusions.

In conclusion, the choice of an animal to represent a human trait between the two wisdom literatures is largely based on the observation of these animals' behaviour as there may seem to be some parallels between the behaviour of these animals and human beings. However, one must hasten to say that this observation is not the sole basis upon which animal metaphors are built as the images are sometimes created through symbolic affordance. The choice of the female dog (bitch) and its use illustrates both points. The theory of symbolic affordance seems to work most when one looks at the other appearances of the dog in Semonides, Phocylides, and even in Shona poetry where neither Greek nor Kalanga lore on the dog emphasises the female dog in the sexual sphere: in both cases the 'bitchiness' seems to stem from the [unmarked] dog.

As such, the name 'dog' has assumed a generally derogatory function as it is a readily available word of insult. Looking at A. W. Chebani's Kalanga story of the woman-dog, I propose that since there are no such creatures in verifiable human experience, the dog part of the creature is a symbol of a wide range of human personality traits in the tradition rather than a description of a real creature or its features.

It is not very clear to me why sparrows are used as a symbol of love. Harold Zellner is of the opinion that the στροῦθοι, 'sparrows' (Sappho, fr. 1.10) are deployed in the poem mainly to amuse because they bring about a hyperbolic effect to the poem through their incongruence.[96] Speaking of sparrows, Denys Page indicates that they were 'notorious for their wantonness and fecundity', as such they are suitable symbols of love in the Archaic Greek traditions.[97] It is equally not clear why women are associated with the river-bird and the dove in the Kalanga human-bird metamorphoses.

In the simile of bees and drones at *Theog*. (594–602), it was observed that the understanding of bees is a very recent phenomenon, as evidenced in Aristotle's *Generation of animals* 3.10, where he treates bees, drones and queens as belonging to different speciesis. It is therefore not surprising that Hesiod should choose drones (male bees) to represent women, and female bees to represent men. Hesiod's distinction between bees and drones, or the deliberate turns of their roles upside-down aims at achieving poetic ends whilst also demonstrating the cultural knowledge of his place and time. Hesiod is thus prepared to subvert scientific truth in his objective to represent women as economically dependent on men.

Authors like Canevaro (2013), Arthur (1984) have shed light on the idiosyncrasies of the 7th and 6th Centuries B.C. Greece, namely that they are largely dominated by an andocentric worldview with male-centred views about women. In poetry, this dominant male spirit manifests in forms

[96] Zellner, (2008), 435 & 441.
[97] Page (1965), 7–8.

that have crystallized into the tradition, as evidenced by the use of animals to represent women in the works of Semonides and Phocylides.

Lastly, the moral authority represented can be regarded as largely poetic, to a large extent as there are clear traces of tradition in the dissemination of wisdom. Certain forms have crystallized into the stock-in-trade of the didactic mode, as can be seen in Semonides and Phocylides, or in the animal compounds and types that represent certain things in certain contexts, for example the woman dog, nightingale, dove. The admonitory notes also carry cultural value as they sometimes teach how to co-exist with our animals as well. At the same time the cultural value of the proverb cannot be undermined as the proverb also means that people must look after their dogs so that they do not stray and go around stealing at other people's households — a very relevant point, ecologically speaking.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This chapter tells us whether there is any basis for comparison of Greek and Kalanga literature, and whether there can be any authority in oral literature. The chapter also concludes on the importance of fauna in the poetics of selected topics. I will also make recommendations towards the effective and systematic preservation of Kalanga culture. Here, I also give my view on the question whether one can talk of 'African Classics', basing on the data and approaches used.

This research was inspired by the mystery of the universal deployment of, and a perceived similarity between, animal roles in wisdom literatures. I sought to evaluate the ways in which animals are used as metaphors to express and signify human actions and attitudes in oral wisdom literatures like praise poetry, proverbs, fables and other wisdom discourses. In this chapter, I discuss the findings to the questions that were raised in the thesis. Owing to the very wide scope of this study, I will discuss the broader concerns of the thesis, rather than focus on each and every question that was raised. These broad concerns include: a) What inspires the choice of an animal in its deployment as a human character in folklore? b) Which animals are the archetypes of cleverness and stupidity in each culture? c) How do animal tales reflect the political systems for the respective societies? d) How does the economic relationship between humans and animals influence the deployment of animals in myth? e) What is the importance of food (i.e. an

animal's position on the food chain) in the fashioning of animal roles in didactic literature? f) How are animals deployed to impart wisdom in the field of love?

7.2 General summary

This study focused on the use of animals insofar as they shed light on the cleverness and stupidity of human beings, their deployment as political commentary, as well as their use in the economic and erotic didactics of the two respective wisdom traditions. These categories conveniently mark what I regard as the four major cornerstones of human existence, namely, wisdom, power, money and sex (not in any order of importance). In this chapter, I begin by collating the findings of the, third, fourth, fifth and sixth chapters first, before I revert back to questions raised in the first two chapterss as these are all encompassing and more technical. These six questions represent the concerns of the main chapter topics (chapters 3–6), but there are other broad questions that came up in the course of this thesis, such as what authority myth has to be taken seriously as a vehicle of wisdom and social education. Why are there some similarities (and differences) between the two disparate wisdom traditions, as well as to what extent the two traditions illuminate each other? Questions on Kalanga, the question of African Classics, and the relevance of Classical Studies in Africa also featured in certain parts of this thesis, therefore it would be interesting to give an overview of some of the issues that were raised, based on a comparative study of animals in folklore. Admittedly, these are broad questions, but they do work to sum up a study of this nature, a study whose chapters are not too related to each other, thematically speaking. I shall do this summary while testing my hypothesis that observation of animal behaviour in real life lies behind their characterization in folklore.

Finally, I also offer conclusions on the ecological and conservational issues that these agrarian societies raise, and how they seek to preserve nature, especially animals.

7.3 Reflections on cleverness and stupidity

The first observation made on the use of animals to depict human cleverness and stupidity is that the fox is the standard trickster character that is common to both traditions. The intelligence that the fox demonstrates is the 'menu-driven intelligence', which basically looks at the amount of mental effort that an animal must expend to get a meal.[1] As an opportunistic scavenger, the fox's feeding habits and ubiquity make it a universal token for the charlatan. It was noted that foxes are characterised by habits in real life that range from destroying vineyards in the ancient Mediterranean world,[2] to raiding small livestock in Southern Africa, especially poultry.[3] The closeness of vineyards and poultry to human settlements makes it possible that humans get enough time to observe the fox securing its meals, from man's stock, and thus this observation leads to the framing and mythologising of the fox as the prototype of a shifty character (thief). Thus the image of the fox becomes the universal trickster.

Further, another observation that was made is the confounding of the *mhungubwe* (fox or jackal) in Kalanga folklore, such that it was difficult to equate the Greek fox with its real, biological Kalanga equivalent. It was observed that this confusion on the identity of the two animals is not

[1] Yoerg (2001), 162.
[2] Tristam (1868), 86. Also, Hagedorn (2003), 337–352. Babrius (11), Songs of Solomon 2:15
[3] Elliott (et.al) (1992), 429 and 587

unique to Kalanga, as the same situation exists in Syrian ethology.[4] According to Kalanga data, it is not easy to conclude that the bat-eared fox (*Otocyon Megalotis*) is meant in wisdom literatures, and not the Cape fox (*Vulpes chama*) which looks more like a smaller version of a jackal (*Canis mesomelas*) than the bat-eared fox does, which is very distinctive. If this analysis on the confoundment of animals is correct, then we still have to find the Kalanga name for the bat-eared fox which is not *mhungubwe* or *bhungubwe*. I guess the name may have become forgotten because of this confusion between the two animals.

On a similar note, it is important to note that while the fox appears as the universal trickster, it is important that sometimes the it fails to carry out his intrigues successfully, so the fox gets outfoxed, for example Babr. (86) and Phaed. (1.26). Although the fox typology is common to both Greek and Kalanga, it was observed that the fox is not the greatest trickster in Kalanga lore. The greatest cheat in Kalanga orature is Hare (*Luhulo/Lishulo*) who is the prototype of cunning as he is the only animal who can easily cheat even Fox himself. On this topic, I speculated that the Kalanga conception of the hare as a clever animal might be inspired by the agility of the hare in real life, thereby confirming my hypothesis that the observation of animals in real life plays a significant part in its deployment in myth.[5] In Kalanga this *victor victus* situation can be seen in stories like the tale of the animals digging a well related by Mbulawa, in which Hare cheats Fox by promising him honey.[6] However, it is important to note that although Hare is ranked above Fox in the hierarchy of cleverness in Kalanga and other African fables, the tortoise is the invincible archetype as he gets the better of Hare, for example at the situation of the well.

[4] Worcester (1926), 131.
[5] See Chapter 2 under the subheading 'The cunning hare in Kalanga folklore'.
[6] Mbulawa (2001), 15–19. This story also appears verbatim in Moswela and Mothetho (1998b), 59–63.

Tortoise is the typology of the correct application of mental faculties as he uses this ability to capture the thieving Hare.

However, one must hasten and note that some of the characterisations of the hare are not based on real life, as the hare sometimes appears as a carnivorous animal, killing and eating human babies, and leopard's cubs, such that it becomes hazardous to take the hypothesis that observation of animals in real life is the sole factor behind the appearance of animals in folklore. This is where the symbolic affordance is overplayed, where hare is always available for the sticking of a new label. Following gender approaches, Wazha Lopang reflects on the possible androgyny of the hare character in folklore. I find it necessary to agree with Lopang's important observation as, truly, the gender of the hare is rarely mentioned in Kalanga folklore. Lopang works from a premise that critics have not analyzed the ideology behind the characterization of animals in trickster tales from a gender perspective.[7] The reason for this is that in Kalanga, *luhulo* or *lishulo* means both a male and female hare. Lopang argues that the gender dimension only comes after the translation of the stories into English, '…because in iKalanga we do not have the article for "he" or "she." '[8] Summarily, I concluded that in such cases, the hare symbolises a fluid typology of various human dispositions rather than providing insights into just one character type. This depiction does not demonstrate much scientific knowledge about real hares and, as such, the hare's role is largely poetic because in some fables hare sometimes does not correspond with real hares. The hare does not appear as a cheat in Archaic Age Greek orature. In the Aesopic tradition, the wolf is usually deployed as the typical dupe. This character

[7] Lopang (2003), 1.
[8] Lopang (2003), P7-8.

is mirrored in Kalanga by the hyena, which I suggest is typologically similar to the wolf in the Greek category.

Through a comparison of the two oratures, it emerged that primates are also presented as stupid in Kalanga and Greek orature. My conjecture here is that primates are presented as playing the role of the dupe in both oral literatures because they do not measure up so well when compared to human beings, close as the two hominids might be in real life.[9] The role of primates also seems to be largely poetic rather than real because in real life, primates are closest to man in terms of cognitive processes. Examples of baboons opening car doors and stealing from people in Kariba, Zimbabwe and in the Cape Peninsula illustrate that the depiction of baboons is not based on their observation in real life either. The punishment of Baboon by Hare when the latter burns a patch of grassland, causing Baboon to walk back and forth until the food was finished, is an example that comes to mind when one thinks of how stupid Baboon is in the Kalanga folktale.[10]

The deployment of the Ape in the Greek fable and the poetry of Archilochus also presents the Ape as an ugly and stupid character. An example is the cryptic Archilochus (fr. 89) which relates a meeting between a crafty fox and an ape. Although silent on the stupidity of the ape, one can safely conjecture that the stupidity of the ape is also insinuated in the poem when the poet alludes to the cleverness of the fox, πυκνὸν ἔχουσα νόον (Archil. fr. 89.6 Edmonds). Such a judgment is based on a cultural reading of the stock character that the Greek tradition assigns the

[9] Tambiah (1969), 441.
[10] Maikano (1977), 33.

ape. The Aesopic fable of the monkey and the dolphin where the dolphin confuses the monkey for a human being also comes to mind, (Appendix 73).

The other dupes include caprines like goats and sheep. The major observation about the use of caprines is that they are presented as victims because they constitute food for foxes and mankind. As food, they are the object of contention, and it is natural that they should be cast as playing losing roles in folklore. As such, this confirms the importance of an animal's position in the food chain in the deployment of the animal as a character in wisdom literature, with the exception of the hare, of course, in Kalanga and other African traditions. The animation of human trickery sets a standard of how the human world ought to, or ought not to operate and *conversio in animalia*[11] is a universal method of moral education and entertainment that cuts across many oral literatures.

On a similar note, classicists like John Heath believe that early Greeks thought animals are endowed with the ability to think, based on a cultural reading of Homeric passages that illustrate animals as possessing *noos*, the equivalent of a human mind.[12] Passages like the conversion of Odysseus' companions to swine were consulted to illustrate this depiction of animals and their use of faculties. Another view, though, is that animals cannot be presented as thinking because they are not rational. 'They are not capable of planning, or reflection, or changing their environment in ways that may bring about better outcomes. And as a result they are not capable

[11]My own phrase referring to conversion in speech of human characters into animal characters.
[12] Heath (2005), 50.

of participating in justice or in a city.'[13] As it stands, this statement has its loopholes, especially when one considers the tale of the industrious ant and the cicada (Babr. 140) which clearly demonstrates that animals are capable of planning.

7.4 Power relations: an overview

To give a summary of the use of animals in the representation of human power dynamics, one can begin by pointing out that this 'power' is construed as the ability to dominate other human beings.[14] In the animal world, this power is construed along similar lines of animals dominating one another, especially for food. Both traditions use animals to educate on the acceptable and unacceptable leadership styles. The most prominent symbols of this power include lions, wolves, leopards, bulls, hawks and eagles. They also prove that power in the animal world is defined along lines of dominion, with most animals proving their power by killing others. Homeric similes attest to the violence with which lions kill, juxtaposed with the heroes' savagery. Furthermore, Solon's use of images drawn from the fox and lion to represent Peisistratus' political motives also show how deeply animal imagery is embedded in Greek wisdom literatures. This passage (fr.10) is cryptic as there is confusion as to whom the two animals represent. Because of the grammatical ambiguity in the poem, I am inclined to conclude that the poet is treating the fox and lion as one person — Peisistratus. In this case, the fox and lion are used as examples of bad political leadership. The fox represents duplicity while the lion represents violence or tyranny (Cf. Machiavelli's analogy that uses the fox and lion as

[13] Clayton (2008), 195.
[14] Russell (1960) distinguishes between power over human beings, and power over dead matter, and chooses to follow the former, 25.

representatives of leadership styles). The association between Solon fr. 10 and Babr. 95 shows Solon's reception of the Aesopic fable for political advice. Kurke notes that this '…parallel allows us to fill out the fable background of Solon's allusive version.'[15]

To add on, one can also note that use the lion as a critique of despotic political leadership abound in the Aesopic fable. This is because Aesop is largely represented as a political sage. This can be seen in the contentions between Solon and Aesop against Croesus which also give an idea of the place of wisdom literature (fable) in the dispensing of political wisdom.[16] Collectively, animal fables of political import seem to convey the lesson that the strong rule and the weak must obey or suffer.[17] In the Greek tradition, while the wisdom conveyed may seem to be pessimistic in nature, in Kalanga, the occasional defeat of the strong animal like Lion by Fox, Hare and even Man indicates that there are possibilities of dissent even in the tyrannical societies. This is also sometimes the case in the Greek fables, for example the fable of the lion and the gnat, in which the gnat defeats the lion in battle (*Appendix* 255); or the lion, the fox and the wolf, in which the fox gets the better of the wolf (*Appendix* 258).

Speaking of lion symbolism in Kalanga folktale, the lion is the archetype of political leadership, as is the case with the Greek. [18] However, one discovery that I made about the lion is that it is never deployed as a symbol of political leadership in other Kalanga wisdom literatures like

[15] Kurke (2011), 155. According to this reading, Kurke's compares the Athenian *demos* to foxes individually, and deer collectively, 156.
[16] Kurke (2011), 133–4; especially her analysis of the fable related in *Vita* G, (ch. 99). '...Aesop was a figure who deployed his own very distinctive style of *Sophia* through indirect fable advice...' 135.
[17] Clayton (2008), 181.
[18] Mhlabi (2000), 12–13.

proverbs and praise poetry. Instead, the Kalanga symbols of political leadership are the elephant, the rhinoceros, and sometimes the male buffalo (*Nyatindume*) and the bull (*Nkono* or *Gono*). Here I reasoned that the language of violence that is associable with lions (for example in the *Iliad*) would not fit in the Kalanga psyche as they regarded themselves as a pacifist people (*bakaxamu yendazwa*), the people of the soft switch, '…because they, the Kalanga, do not like war' *Nau.* (2.1, and 3.3).[19] Because of this discrepancy in the distribution of the lion, I am compelled to believe that Kalanga folktales that feature the lion are translations of neighbouring mythologies like those of Nguni origin, whose people were attacking or predatory forces. In these tales, Hare appears as the subtle critic of King Lion when the latter oversteps his boundaries and leans towards despotic rule. This was seen in the story of the lion and the hare related by Mbulawa where Lishulo the Hare tricks Lion to lock himself in a pen, and threatens to whip Lion's flanks which are full of other animals' flesh.[20] In this case, Hare is seen as a subtle critic of Lion's leadership style.

When one looks at the theoretical side of this discussion, and going by the African-centred approach of *ubuntu*, one discovers that animals help to put across the lesson that *Inkosi yinkosi ngabantu*, 'a king is a king because of his people'. This proverb is censururing leadership styles like tyranny and absolutism. The last observation from Chapter Four is that while the Kalanga tradition seems to be pro-active in issues of political change, the same cannot be said of its Greek counterpart, which appears to be more pessimistic. Here I observed that this was a result of the

[19] Van Waarden (1991) notes that '…Mambo Chibundule is said (oral history) to have had a large army, although he is said to have ruled by a soft switch rather than by the spear. The non defensive architecture indicates the absence of enemies. All these factors indicate that Butua had evolved from a chiefdom into a state, and that this was a time of peace and prosperity,' 13.
[20] Mbulawa (2001), 22.

authorship of the fable in the Greek society on one hand, and in Bantu African world on the other. The Greek fable demonstrates pessimism because it is associated with the marginalised elements of that world, while the Kalanga seems to be all encompassing because it is of anonymous authorship. Besides offering sagacious advice to kings as Aesop did, the slaves of the Greek world would have been among the last people to try to do anything about politics in Greece. As such, the authorship of the Greek fable allows it to sound pessimistic, especially if we bear in mind that the Archaic Age was an era that was frequently characterised by tyranny. On the other hand, it was observed that Kalanga orature, being communal property, allows for optimism as it is not confined to one class of people.

To help trace the background, this research also established the possibility that Kalanga can be linked to the political systems that can be traced back to at least around the tenth century A.D, which makes Kalanga one of the earliest groups to cross the Zambezi during the Bantu migrations.[21] The significance of fauna for these societies is also supported by ethno-archaeological evidence, as seen in the golden rhino of Mapungubwe which attests to the important position that the rhino occupies in the representation of human political status in traditional Kalanga poetry.[22] The iconography of the golden miniature rhinoceros confirms that the Kalanga attributes royalty to the rhino.

[21] See Wentzel (1983c), Fortune (1973), Schutte (1978) for the antiquity of Kalanga.
[22] Huffman (2000), 21.

7.5 Economic didactics: an overview

To begin with a theoretical survey, this section was handled largely using Marxist literary criticism and the African-centred approach of *ubuntu*. These two approaches enabled the discussion of animals in relation to their use in the depiction of class, in the method of acquiring wealth, as well as symbols of status (Class). On the methods of acquiring wealth, it was observed that in the Greek idiom, Zeus requires people to exercise *philanthropia*, *humanitas* or *ubuntu*,[23] and exercise fair dealings, unlike Perses and the *Basilees*, who 'prey' on their unsuspecting fellow citizens like Hesiod.[24] Hesiod illustrates the importance of animals as aids in education at *Op.* 276–286 where he gives the picture of a society where people live like animals, so to speak, devoid of any social cohesion, whatsoever — like the fishes and the wild animals in the cited passage.

To deviate a bit, I will attempt to answer my question: are Greeks *abantu*? The first response to this question is that as human beings, the Greeks *are abantu* (people). A study of Archaic Age trade rules in literature presents the Greeks as a communally-oriented people who emphasise communality. So, in terms of outlook towards life the Greeks of the Archaic Age do exhibit the equivalent of *ubuntu*, which I proposed to be the equivalent of the Greek *philanthropia*, and the Latin *humanitas*. This makes *ubuntu* something achievable even by people not of Bantu stock. *Ubuntu* is not a genetic philosophy but a social one into which a person can be socialised.

[23] Veyne (1993) suggests that in Greek, *humanitas* corresponds to *paideia* and *philanthropia*, 342.
[24] Zhang (2009), 7.

Humanitas, philanthropia, ubuntu, bunhu, unhu are, in my view, translations of the same concept. Its objectives are the achievement of *eudaimonia* (happiness).'[25]

Like the Kalanga, all Archaic Age poets are agreed that 'Well-gotten gains are quite acceptable.'[26] Thus, Greek wisdom literature has an equivalent of *ubuntu.* This equivalent is seen mostly in pre Classical societies. The priority of the individual (particular) becomes more emphasised during the Classical Age. It must be noted that *ubuntu* does not emphasise altruism at the expense of personal gain, because a study of some Kalanga proverbs revealed traits of competition that are motivated by self-interest (in Chapter 4). For example, *butamutamu gowanisa n'ombe*, 'contest gives cattle' (Tr. 41). As such, it would be correct to point that the antique Kalanga world was a free trade zone — a capitalistic environment.

On the other hand, the research also established the importance of animals in depicting human status, the ethics of acquiring wealth and the way to preserve it. The importance of cattle as an object and symbol of wealth was clearly noted in both Greek and Kalanga categories, for example their use in the naming of places and people, Boeotia and Nkomo. This is because cattle, like plants and other domestic animals, constitute human food.[27] In Kalanga societies, cattle are also used in marriage transactions, both as bride price, and as a means of sustaining one's family (wives), hence their dominance as symbols of wealth in orature.[28]

[25] Versenyi (1963), 79–80.
[26] Schaps (2003), 136.
[27] Mbiti (1969), 50.
[28] Huffman (2000), 17.

Contrariwise, it can also be pointed out that both the Greek and Kalanga traditions are unanimous in assigning the dog as the typology of indigence. Here it was observed that the deployment of the dog as an insult and a sign of negligence across the literatures studies is because it shares the same cultural space with humans as a not so faithful dependent animal, as observed by Franco.[29] I concluded that this is due to the dependence of dogs on human beings. However, when viewed critically, it emerges that this is an oversimplification of the status of dogs as they are also used as symbols of guarding man's property, as seen in Hesiod (*Op.* 604) and the analogy between Argus and Penelope in the *Odyssey*. Besides the dependence of dogs on human beings, it also emerged that Kalanga proverbs illustrate the relationship of man and dog as symbiotic because the dogs also provide food for man through hunting.

7.6 Animals and erotic didactics: an overview

The leading discovery in this topic, one needs to note that the choice of an animal to represent a human trait in ancient Greek and Kalanga wisdom traditions is largely based on the observation of these animals' behaviour, as there are apparent parallels between the behaviour of the selected animals and human beings. The choice of equines and dogs directly illustrates an excessive sex-drive among humans. On the choice of equines to illustrate bad sexual morals, I concluded that this is based on human observation of these animals mating. Here, I speculated that the huge penises of most equines would make these animals a suitable typology to describe excessive sexuality among people. Another important observation is that donkeys are not indigenous to

[29] Franco (2014), 15. 'The dog participates as a subject'.

Southern Africa, as they were brought in through Cape Town by the Dutch in 1656.[30] Also, domesticated equines do not appear in Khoisan rock paintings, another indication of their recent arrival into Southern Africa.

Furthermore, the choice of the female dog (bitch) to represent human sexual license is inspired by the behaviour of real dogs when a female is in estrus. The female dog here represents a woman who shares sexual favours with more than one man. In Kalanga wisdom traditions the dog can also symbolise men who knowingly share the sexual favours of one woman. In fact, the name 'dog' has assumed a generally derogatory function as it is a readily available word of insult. Looking at the Kalanga story of the woman-dog, it was observed that since there are no such creatures in verifiable human experience, the dog part of this composite creature is a symbol of certain negative human personality traits in the tradition rather than the description of a real creature or its features. Similarly, the story of girls who fall in love with lions cautions people not to fall in love instantly — a very prudent exercise since one might not know the nature (ἦθος) of that person.

The deployment of sparrows as birds of love presented some problems, as it was not immediately clear why Archaic Age Greek poets like Sappho built their imagery on them. Harold Zellner is of the opinion that the στροῦθοι, 'sparrows' (Sappho, fr. 1.10) appear in the poem mainly to amuse because they bring about a hyperbolic effect to the poem through their incongruence.[31] However,

[30] Mwenya & Keib (2004), 172.
[31] Zellner, (2008), 435 & 441.

Denys Page notes that sparrows were 'notorious for their wantonness and fecundity', thereby making it natural that they were thought to symbolise the power of Aphrodite (love), thus justifying Sappho's choice of these birds as the conveyors of Aphrodite's chariot.[32] As such, sparrows play both a poetic role (music), whilst giving the reader insights into the sexuality of sparrows in real life. It was not immediately clear to me why women are associated with the river-bird and the dove in the Kalanga human-bird metamorphoses either. Thus the appearance of birds in the Kalanga erotic didactic is an area that still needs further research.

In terms of inspiration and style, it also emerged that the scientific knowledge about bees was very inaccurate during those times, such that it would be unfair to measure Hesiod's presentation of scientific data using twenty-first century scientific tools. As such, in the simile of bees and drones at *Theog*. (594–602), in which Hesiod chooses drones to represent women, and female bees to represent men, we need to understand this as an arbitrary distinction when viewed from a twenty-first century perspective. However, the distinction is not so arbitrary for Hesiod and his caontemporaries. After noting Hesiod's awareness of the distinction between bees and drones (*Op.* 303–7) it becomes necessary to note that the poet does not lack the knowledge of distinguishing bees from drones; in the simile (*Theog*. 594–602), the poet deliberately turns their roles upside-down to achieve poetic ends at the expense of demonstrating the cultural knowledge of his place and time.

[32] Page (1965), 7–8.

Opposite to the above, it was noted that the moral authority represented is not just poetic, but it also carries cultural value, as oral traditions sometimes teach us how to co-exist with our animals as well; the Kalanga proverb 'A dog's reward is its skull', comes to mind. The cultural value of this proverb cannot be underestimated as it also teaches people to take good care of their dogs so that they do not stray into other people's households — a very relevant point, ecologically speaking. This ecological point leads into a discussion of how *gnomai* also dispense wisdom on environmental ethics.

7.7 Environmental ethics

Ecological approaches to wisdom literature reveal that *gnomai* discourage wanton plunder of the world's natural resources, as some of the taboos and proverbs studied aim to control consumerism. On the Kalanga side, one can recall the reports of Rev. Mothibi that Kalanga salt prospectors did not just kill wildlife for food but they informed Mwali first.[33] Similarly, Mothibi also discusses the numinous role that snakes hold in Kalanga society, for example when the pilgrims at a rain-making shrine are compelled to throw away beer in which a snake had taken a bath because the beer had been straddled by Mwali.[34] This demonstrates the importance of snakes in the conception of Mwali. Sacred snakes were also noted in Greek poetry (*Homeric hymn to Apollo*). These discussions also tie in with Leslie Nthoi's reports of the sacred snake that he saw during his visit to the Njelele shrine in the Matopos, Zimbabwe.[35] Besides illustrating humans' fear of snakes, such taboos illustrate the importance of traditional religion in the

[33] Mothibi (1999), 16.
[34] Mothibi (1999), 13–14.
[35] Nthoi (2006), 29–30.

conservation of nature. Kalanga actually treat snakes with reverence. Nthoi gives an acceptable rationale for this phenomenon when he argues that snakes are believed to represent the ancestors in Kalanga thought because of their abode in burrows. He says: 'The ancestral spirits come out of the spirit world underground into the human realm, in the same way snakes come out of their burrows.'[36]

To move away from the numinous to the mundane, one notes that some *gnomai* aim at the preservation of the world's natural resources, as some proverbs and fables seem to encourage good treatment of domestic animals and pets. An example is *Tjilipila tjembwa un'holo wayo,* 'a dog's skull is its reward' (Tr. 168). Although the proverb was interpreted along erotic lines (Chapter Six), it emerged that in terms of ecological awareness, this admonitory proverb describes real events that can happen in a real dog's life as it goes about its daily business. In this proverb and its exegesis, the dog's business as it roams around is described along the lines of sex, and stealing.

Other passages that describe the dog's position in real life include Babr. 43, (the dog who gets thrown over the wall), Babr. 110 where a dog indicates that it is always ready to go since it does not have any belongings. This fable has a feint resonamce with the Kalanga proverb *Tjembwa tjayo ngetje yinayina hhayi galentuzi seyina tjayo: Mbwa ayitolindila tjabikwa, koga inonda miha yose muzi*, 'A dog's business is to roam around, it does not sit in a shade as if it owns anything: a dog does not wait for food to be prepared for it, but it roams around homesteads

[36] Nthoi (2006), 29.

looking for food' (Tr. 410). Aesop's fable of the dog with a bruised neck (Babr. 100) demonstrates the persistent use of the dog as a sign of indigence. Although most of these fables were read along the major chapter themes of this thesis, one can safely speculate that the Aesopic tradition also insinuates that people should take good care of their dogs. Now I will shift focus from the main themes of the thesis and focus on the technical side: the debate of comparing apples with oranges.

7.8 Comparative literature: does it work?

In modern children's literature, which includes written fables and televised cartoons, animals are still the chief characters. As indicated earlier, this thesis is a product of a lived experience that is supported by the researcher's exposure to the Greco-Roman classics. The impetus to compare traditional Kalanga and Archaic Age Greek *gnomai* stems from this lived experience, and the fact that the two cultures represent the consciousness of agrarian societies before the advent of propositional philosophy in ancient Greece on one hand, and the advent of colonialism and literacy in Southern Africa on the other. Both are eras of literary renaissance, and have revealed some of the factors involved in the collection and documentation of oral wisdom literatures. The study also illustrated how neighbouring traditions affect local myth, as exemplified by the Greek and Kalanga.

The thesis basically sought to compare two bodies of didactic, and despite formal differences, it emerged that didactic literature is essentially comparable. The question of what constitutes the

didactic genre can be answered in the words of David Sider who notes that didactic as it has been understood from the Hellenistic Age onwards is poetry that purports to teach.[37] I am inclined to add the fable to the list, as this study revealed the sheer educational qualities of all the genres studied. Theon defines a fable as a 'fictitions story picturing truth.'[38] The frequent use of fables by authors like Aristotle, Plato and Aristophanes supports this view. Thus, didactic can be conceived more as a mode rather than a 'genre'. The mode is spread across numerous other genres.[39] This didactic mode is similar in the Kalanga, the Near Eastern as well as for the Archaic Greek corpora consulted.[40] In this study, animals are what links the didactic modes together.

On a similar note, the mere fact that most of the wisdom literature that forms the base of this study now appears in the written word also justifies the quest to investigate the authenticity or origin of some of the tales.[41] The deployment of the Lion King in the Kalanga folktale is one case that raised my suspicion because the Lion King does not appear in formulaic poetry and proverbs. It is generally agreed that writing corrupts the spoken word as it falls short in terms of capturing the mnemonics and other semiotics.[42] However, Rosalind Thomas is quick to remind us that what we call Greek oral literature is actually available to us through the written word.[43]

[37] Sider (2014), 27-28.
[38] Quoted from Kurke (2010), 130.
[39] Sider (2014), 27–28.
[40] West (1988), 171, n.118.
[41] For the lack of genuineness in the written word as a representation of oral literature, see Ong (1982) esp. Ch.4.
[42] See Ong (1982).
[43] Thomas (1989), 17.

It also emerged that the fable is based on popular ethology, with *gnomai* built on animals being used to enforce positive values like wisdom, fair exercise of power, fairness in economic deals as well as faithfulness in love. The wisdom traditions are also unanimous in denouncing negative traits like stupidity, despotism, greed, adultery, and so on. To achieve this, wise sayings usually resort to symbols of nature like animals. Comparison of the use of animals in Archaic Greek and indigenous African orature demonstrated that there are some similarities in the way oral literature deploys certain animals, as there are differences. This indicates the possibility of comparing African and Western traditions as they help illuminate one another.

When we look at the particular societies, it emerges that many Kalanga people and places are named after animals, which means they identify themselves as animals. Likewise, some Greek people had animal names too, as in common compounds of *hippos*, for example Hippodamia, Hippocrates, and so on. In agrarian societies, people live with animals; they eat animals and use them for draft, among many other uses. As a result of this contact, people also use animals as characters in stories to represent human situations. The appearance of animals in wisdom literatures can teach us something about ourselves as human beings. Archer Taylor notes that the soul of a nation finds its expression in its proverbs.[44] Taylor's observation is valid, especially when one considers the value that Kalanga proverbs have in arriving at some firm conclusions about Kalanga culture. On the other hand, Dorson believes that while folklore is an echo of the past, at the same time it remains the vigorous voice of the present.[45] The animals in the Greek fables can also be argued to give some insight into the real world of the Archaic Greeks, for

[44] Taylor (1971), 327.
[45] Dorson (1963), 98

example the passages studied yield some information on the faunal assemblage of the Greek Archaic Age.

To justify all these questions, I also kept asking the question whether myth has any authority, and noted that Plato's move to exclude the creative works of Homer, Hesiod and the tragedians from his ideal Republic because it 'is an inferior child born to inferior parents' (*Rep*. 10. 603b) was argued to be self contradicting. This is because Plato actually demonstrates the authority of myth when he engages in mythological discourse as a way of giving alternative expression to the dialectical method, (*Rep.* 375E–376) where Plato likens the guardians of the ideal state to dogs, which are comparable to true lovers of wisdom since they can distinguish between unknown persons and acquaintances.[46] This contradiction in Plato's views amounts to the contestable authority of mythology in classical Athens. Plato's engagement with Hesiod helps to provide a didactic background against which the philosopher's works would be read.[47] Lev Kenaan argues that in the *Symposium*, for example, Plato does not just rework Hesiodic narratives like the Five Ages of Man, 'but also reads the myth's contribution to the *Works and Days* as an antecedent to, and model for, his own self-critical practice of philosophy.[48] This demonstrates that myth is indeed authoritative. One of the achievements of this research was to demonstrate how a living tradition (Kalanga) can be used to understand one that we access through texts and commentaries (Archaic Greek), for example the debates on the use of the dog as a symbol of the other helped illuminate one another quite a lot.

[46] Lonsdale (1979) 150.
[47] Boys-Stones and Haubold (2010),1–3.
[48] Kenaan (2010), 158.

The importance of animals in both Greek and Kalanga folklore needs to be emphasized, as it seems to be a trait of mankind to think of himself as an animal. Animals are the only other parts of nature that have consciousness, and have a behavioural pattern that can be monitored and traced by humans, and therefore usable as a parallel for describing human behaviour. Canevaro notes that fable is used to highlight facets of the human condition that are constant.[49] I think this derives from the fact that animal temperaments are largely constant, unchanging and predictable while humanity is inconstant. However, it is also true that we represent animals (and also any representative of the 'other', foreigners, strangers etc.) as stereotypes. On a closer inspection however, their individuality surfaces: each individual behaves in a different way and their behavior varies under different circumstances.

For me, the similarity of storylines and motifs illustrates the similarity of traditions, and as such, people in their pristine states. I should add that it is not only the fable that is used in this way, but other genres maintain the constants that go with a certain animal in the two bodies of oral literature. Foxes (Ch.3), lions (Ch.4), dogs (Ch. 5 and 6), are largely used similarly to describe similar human characters. It must be borne in mind that the animals in folktales and other wisdom literatures stand for human beings. While acknowledging the fundamental differences between human beings and animals, Bourdillon argues that parallels can be drawn between animal behaviour and human behaviour.[50] It is curious that human beings should compare

[49] Canevaro (2013), 19.
[50]Bourdillon (1990), 17.

themselves to animals when the latter are not comparable with humans. From a human perspective, animals are less developed technically and communicatively.

To touch on a question that I grappled with at some points of this thesis, I shall revert to the question of 'African Classics' as argued by the likes of Molefi Asante. I think that this is an unnecessary question in this context, because technically, this study focuses on pre-classical oral modes, and not Classics *per se*. Secondly, I do not see why Africa, or any place for that matter, needs to have a 'Classical Age' as part of its past, as has been argued by the proponents of that view. I think that Classics as a term refers to the civilisations of the ancient Mediterranean area, and should be confined to that area as a discipline. As such, this study did not seek to read Kalanga literature through the Greek. Rather, I think it is looking at the Greek through Kalanga eyes, quite literally. At best, the two areas studied help illuminate one another, without any one of them taking precedence over the other.

If one were to compare the history of the development of Kalanga and Greek ideas, one might note that the Greek civilisation grew up steadily, without much external dominance, as opposed to the Kalanga, whom this study revealed as a peaceable people (*baka xamu yendazwa*, the people of the soft switch). On the other hand, the circumstances of the Greek world, including her geographic position, gave fertile ground for the germination and spread of ideas. The institutionalisation of education in ancient Greece made the preservation and recording of writings (fables, in this case), and education to become an institution which people could walk into and hold classes. On the other hand, the Kalanga, or African for that matter, had these

beautiful ideas as seen in the proverbs and poetry studied, but lacked the institutionalisation that comes with literacy. The data that I collected and the findings of the thesis prove to me that Kalanga holds an important place in the history of southern African Bantu people, which needs not be necessarily classical.

Notwithstanding, although the antiquity of Kalanga was noted, this reality remains largely unknown to most Kalanga for numerous reasons, chief of which is the denial (or oblivion) of most Kalanga people that they are Kalanga, as most of them identify themselves as Ndebele or Tswana, among other languages in Southern Africa which have the status of *lingua franca*. The second reason, in my view, is that Kalanga as a subject is deliberately suppressed by most writers of Zimbabwean and Rhodesian political history, most of whom are not Kalanga.[51] This means that Kalanga must write their own history, and not wait to read it through the eyes of others. I am glad that this recommendation is already underway.

As I noted, most Zimbabwean historians' reasons for distorting Kalanga and Zimbabwean history are purely political. Although the ancient Kalanga would have been closer to what is called Shona today, as linguistic evidence sometimes shows, the Kalanga of today are largely viewed as 'Ndebele', or 'Tswana' in many social circles. In Zimbabwe, most people think Kalanga is a mixture of Ndebele and Shona. Mazarire says the reason why we do not know much about Kalanga is that Kalanga have constantly been treated as a sub-ethnicity of the major

[51] E.g. Mudenge (1988), Chigwedere (1998).

groups in southwestern Zimbabwe such as the Ndebele, Tswana and Shona.[52] This is one of the effects of Clement Doke's (and the Rhodesian government's) classification of 'Shona' dialects which excluded Kalanga because the Kalanga could speak Ndebele, anyway. Msindo surmises the Kalanga identity crisis in the following words:

> 'Doke's recommendation denying Kalanga official status influenced colonial language policy from 1930 on. With Tjikalanga marginalized, most efforts to promote it after 1930 came from below rather than from state officials or missionaries. In this way, Kalanga language work came to assume an ethnic connotation as language revival was intricately linked to the survival of Kalanga culture, traditions, religion, chieftaincies, and a continued sense of community.'[53]

On the same note,one of the findings of this thesis was that strictly speaking, Kalanga cannot be a subset of Shona as is the common perception as the word 'Shona' first appears in 1893,[54] while the word Kalanga had been used since the time of the Portuguese traders and explorers, variously as Mocaranga, Makalaka — no Shona in sight. The classification of Kalanga as a subset of Shona is merely a linguistic classification that was begun by Clement Doke and had its adverse effects on Kalanga scholarship, as numerous scholars have become accustomed to the linguistic classification of Kalanga as 'Western Shona'.[55] In the present political Zimbabwean dispensation, Shona has come to mean people who live in 'Mashonaland' and speak the dialects that were collected by the South African linguist. It has also become a political rallying point for

[52] Mazarire (2003), 1.
[53] Msindo (2005), 84–5.
[54] Hartmann (1893)
[55] Wentzel (1983c), 9–10; van Waarden (1988b) says of the baKalanga of Botswana: 'Before the present border was drawn, they formed one group with the baKalanga of Western Zimbabwe and as such they are the western branch of the Shona people, 1. However, van Waarden (2012) shows a marked shift when she actually identifies the Kalanga as belonging to an autonomous 'state', Butua.

people living in the Central, Northern and Eastern parts of Zimbabwe. On the other hand, Ndebele is a political label to those people who live in the South-Central, the South, and the West of the country, including the Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Ndebele, Nambya (a dialect of Kalanga), and Sotho. I think it is quite ironic and interesting that these current identities of Zimbabweans, of which all of us are very proud, were created by the colonial administrators. Basing on the findings, I am in agreement with those scholars have even argued that the Great Zimbabwe culture is Kalanga, contrary to the current tradition which explains the word the word Zimbabwe as deriving from the Shona *dzimba dzamabwe* (lit. 'Houses of stones').

In this research it also emerged that in the absence of written sources, a study of Kalanga oral literature is an alternative way towards a fuller and critical appreciation of the Kalanga people and thought as wisdom literatures like proverbs are largely static, despite the political environment of the people involved. The antiquity of Kalanga culture was also seen in that Venda oral traditions, conceive that Mwali (God) spoke Kalanga.[56]

These are pertinent issues in African politics, and the Kalanga Classicist has discovered the importance of Kalanga in reconstructing the cultural history of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Southern Africa in general. I am very sure that this view will never find any sympathy among many Shona readers. But then this is not a thesis aimed at the Shona. As such, I am convinced that Classical approaches can also help solve today's problems by providing different perspectives to local, contemporary issues. Also, an appreciation of other cultures can improve

[56] Schutte (1978), 119.

on our understanding of the Classics, as most of the information from the Greek Archaic Age is extremely fragmentary. Conjectures based on Kalanga findings helped to estimate some of the ancient fragments, for example I conjectured that the deployment of the ape in the fragments of Archilochus is modelled on presenting the animal as stupid, basing on a comparison with the Kalanga treatment of hominids, something which may not be very clear basing on a reading of Greek orature alone.

The similarities between Archaic Greek and proto-literate Kalanga oral narratives thus prove that although people live in different epochs in terms of space and time, their thinking is essentially similar on humanistic issues, thus establishing harmony among the diverse peoples of the world. This is the effectiveness of comparative studies as exemplified by comparing the use of fauna in Archaic Greek and Kalanga oral wisdom literatures.

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